Political and Cultic Landscapes in the Northeast Mediterranean, ca. 1175-675 BCE: Institutional Change and Identity Making

by

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Dedication

To Maggie and Arthur

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the political and cultic history of the northeast Mediterranean during the Iron Age (ca. 1175 to 675 BCE) through an analysis of institutions and their connections to group identities. After the sociopolitical upheaval at the end of the Late Bronze Age, this region experienced a period of rapid regeneration and cultural differentiation. Rather than prioritizing a narrative of Late Bronze Age legacy or of Mediterranean new-comers and Aegeanization, this project aims to situate the trajectories of local traditions and innovations within regional trends through a micro-regional and multi-scalar model of glocalization. It attempts to define the modes of interaction between different communities and developments within new Iron Age entities through an investigation of material proxies and the textual record of the region. While a wealth of archaeological investigations and event histories concerning this region have been produced in recent years, a proper historical work that considers archaeological and epigraphic sources to investigate social, political, and cultic processes from the transitional phase of the Early Iron Age into the Neo-Assyrian period in this region is still lacking.

The goal of this project is essentially threefold: first, it aims to provide an analysis of the developing forms of political rule, the interactions between local small kingdoms and more distant political entities, local responses to imperial pressures at the hands of Assyria, and the legacy of Bronze Age traditions and Iron Age innovations; second, it strives to illustrate regional and local trends in cultic practice with attention to continuity and change in cult space, representations, and the conceptualization of deities as a means of defining community identities centered around certain cults. Building upon the first two goals, it also seeks to understand the ways in which participation in political and cultic institutions helps shape individual and group

identity making through a diachronic and micro-regional approach to the material and textual indices of the past. Lastly, the project attempts to identify synchronic developments across both the political and cultic spheres of society, in order to understand any connectivity between specific sociopolitical and cultic processes. In addition to the inherent value of a micro-history of the region, this project provides a novel interpretation of the political and cultic landscapes of the Iron Age in a central region of the eastern Mediterranean following the collapse of the Late Bronze Age political network and social structure.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Project Aims

This dissertation investigates the political and cultic history of the northeast Mediterranean during the Iron Age, ca. 12th to 7th centuries BCE, through an analysis of institutions and their connections to the formation and manifestation of group identities. After the sociopolitical upheaval at the end of the Late Bronze Age, this region experienced a period of rapid regeneration and cultural differentiation. Rather than prioritizing a narrative of Late Bronze Age legacy (Hittite, Levantine, or otherwise) or of Mediterranean new-comers and Aegeanization, this project assesses both models equally and aims to situate the trajectories of local traditions and innovations within regional and global trends through a micro-regional and multi-scalar model of glocalization. It attempts to define the modes of interaction between different communities and developments within new Iron Age polities and social groups through an investigation of material proxies and the textual record of the region. While a wealth of archaeological investigations and event histories concerning this region have been produced in the last years, a proper historical work that considers archaeological and epigraphic sources to investigate social, political, and cultic processes from the transitional phase of the Early Iron Age into the Neo-Assyrian period in this region is still lacking.

In a recent work which begins to fill this very gap in scholarship, James Osborne defined a Syro-Anatolian Culture Complex (SACC) characterized "by a broadly shared hybrid cultural tradition that was created by the mixing of many people in the population movements of the twelfth and eleventh centuries" (2021: 35) and comprising a collection of diverse kingdoms

between South Central Anatolia and Northwest Syria. He rightly recognized that these polities, "constituting a relatively homogeneous cultural and political phenomenon" (2021: 4), were central to a great many sociocultural, political, and economic developments of the Near East during the Iron Age. Importantly, however, while the commonalities amongst these population groups were the focus of Osborne's work, he also noted that they remained "variegated and ever-changing" and with "many particular features and circumstances unique to each polity" (Osborne 2021: 3). It is in these regional variations – what Naoíse Mac Sweeney has termed "the protean diversity of the Syro-Anatolian city-states" (2021: 451) in her review of Osborne's monograph – where the following work finds its emphasis.[1] While Osborne was certainly correct in identifying a shared cultural identity in SACC through his synchronic approach to the evidence from the whole of the macro-region, this dissertation aims to examine distinctions through a diachronic and micro-regional approach, specifically focusing on separate, plural, and often intersecting political and cultic identities. This effort comes, in part, as a response to Timothy Harrison's recent call for the further development of Iron Age micro-histories, which he says, "will be critical to any successful effort to achieve a deeper and more meaningful understanding of the dynamics and development of Iron Age Levantine society, and maintaining a balance or tension between these local and regional perspectives will be crucial to this effort" (Harrison 2021: 326). To that end, the micro-regions of the northeast Mediterranean, including Cilicia, the northern Levant, and the land between – together referred to in this work as the Core Region – was selected for this project and investigated through a diachronic analysis of historical processes

[1] A similar call for the construction of diachronic micro-histories against the backdrop of Osborne's synchronic "global approach" to the region and its people has been made by Sabine Fourrier in her review of the book (2022: 105).

following the collapse of the Late Bronze Age systems in western Asia and the eastern Mediterranean.[2]

In this dissertation, the particular avenue for accessing the history of this micro-region is through its institutions (Section 2.1.1),[3] political and cultic, and the community or individual participation in or adherence to certain institutions (Section 2.1.3)[4] as a component of identity making (Section 2.1.2).[5] The primary institutions examined are the palace with distinct regional understandings and realizations of kingship and the temple with a number of cults to specific deities (Liverani 2014: 62-63). These are formal institutions produced and maintained by the upper echelons of society and disseminated with expectations of adherence to laws and enforced customs. Informal institutions, those customs and traditions that were produced and normalized organically without a top-down intentionality (North 1990: 46), such as certain regional funerary traditions, are also considered to provide a comprehensive picture of the Iron Age institutions of the northeast Mediterranean region.

We cannot consider a practice, ideal, or tradition to be institutionalized with the first evidence of its occurrence. Instead, this evidence is often illustrative of the end point, of

[2] The label "Core Region" is used, in part, arbitrarily as a means of identifying the area of focus for this project as something more limited than the whole of the northeast Mediterranean. It is also intended to emphasize the central importance of the region to its inhabitants and to push back against any understanding of the region as primarily a periphery to neighboring powers.

[3] On institutions, see the foundational work of Douglass North (1990); for political institutions, in particular, see Samuel Huntington's monograph (1968); and for a recent discussion about defining institutions, see the article of Geoffrey Hodgson (2015).

[4] On communities, see the seminal works of Ferdinand Tönnies (1887), Anthony Cohen (1982; 1985), and Benedict Anderson (1983); on communities of practice, see the work of Etienne Wenger (1998); for archaeological approaches to communities, see the edited volume of Marcello Canuto and Jason Yaeger (2000), and, with particular attention to the eastern Mediterranean, the monograph of Naoíse Mac Sweeney (2011) and the dissertation of Catherine Steidl (2018).

[5] On identity, see Fredrik Barth (1969), Martin Wobst (1977), Ian Hodder (1982; 1989), and Marshall Sahlins (1999); for archaeological approaches to identity, in particular, see Colin Renfrew (1975), Stephen Shennan (1989), and Sian Jones (1997).

institutions that were already stabilized by the time they were preserved in our sources. In many cases, we are limited by a small corpus of evidence that cannot be used to definitively construct the institutions present in the Core Region. However, even in these cases, we may often make reasonable inferences, especially when the evidence includes an explicit process of institutional change or when the evidence is comparable over a span of several generations or centuries. Considering these institutions in micro-regional and diachronic contexts enables a comparative analysis of the development of political and cultic institutions and related organizations in the Core Region.

The choice of individuals and groups to participate in or belong to an institution serves as an active component of identity making, and these decisions serve in a cyclical manner to promote the continuation of the selected institutions (Barth 1969: 13; Smith 2003: 235). Following the orders of a king supports the institution of kingship, and the king's active selection of representative imagery and language in association with expressions of power serves to distinguish the institutions of rule during an individual reign and to construct that king's political identity. The worship of a certain deity and adherence to beliefs and practices associated with such worship helps to bind a community. Community identities, including those surrounding cultic practices or beliefs, often extend beyond geographical or political boundaries, connecting various social groups through common worship of regional panthea. This leads in many cases to intersectional identities (Crenshaw 1989; 2017; Atewologun 2018), where individuals and groups may share one component of their identities, but not others;[6] for instance, the political elites of two kingdoms may belong to a common cultic community, thus sharing that component

[6] On intersectionality theory, see Crenshaw (1989; 2017), Nash (2008), Dhamoon (2011), and Atewologun (2018).

of their identities, but distinguish themselves by their respective political identities through participation in separate institutions of kingship.

The goal of this project is essentially threefold: first, it aims to provide an analysis of the developing forms of political rule, with a focus on internal politics, the interactions between local small kingdoms and more distant political entities, local responses to imperial pressures at the hands of Assyria, and the legacy of both Bronze Age traditions – local and Hittite/Anatolian – and Iron Age innovations; second, it strives to illustrate regional and local trends in cultic practice with attention to continuity and change in cult space, representations, and conceptions of deities as a means of defining community identities centered around certain cults; thirdly, and deeply connected with the first two, it seeks to understand the ways in which participation in political and cultic institutions helps shape individual and group identity making through a diachronic and micro-regional approach to the material and textual indices of the past. Finally, the project attempts to find synchronic developments across both the political and cultic spheres of society in order to understand any connectivity between specific social, political, and cultic processes. In addition to the inherent value of a micro-history of the region, this project provides a novel and much needed reinterpretation of the aftermath left by the Late Bronze Age collapse of the palatial political network and social structure in a central region of the eastern Mediterranean, highlighting the resultant political and cultic landscapes of the Iron Age.

1.2 Scope

1.2.1 Geographical Scope

The geographic area includes, primarily, Cilicia, the northern Levant, and the land between those regions around the northeast corner of the Mediterranean Sea, which I refer to as the Bend (henceforth, these areas are collectively referred to as the 'Core Region'; Fig. 1). This region is limited by the Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains to the north, separating it from central Anatolia except for the mountain pass known as the Cilician Gates or more circuitous routes that avoid the mountains to the east and north. Separating Cilicia from the northern Levant are the Amanus mountains with passes connecting Cilicia with the provinces of Gaziantep (Amanian Gates) and Hatay (Syrian Gates). In contrast to the mountainous borders of these regions, their centers are characterized by fertile plains and several important river valleys, each of which empty into the Mediterranean Sea. In the south, the Orontes River flows north from Lebanon, through the modern cities of Homs and Hama in Syria, and into the Amuq plain in southern Turkey, before turning west to the coast at Antakya. The Karasu and Afrin Rivers flow southwest from Gaziantep through the Aleppo and Afrin regions of Syria, meeting in the Amuq plain where they formed a freshwater lake in antiquity that then emptied into the Orontes River not far from its delta. In the north, the Seyhan River flows south from the Anti-Taurus Mountains through the Taurus range and the Cilician city of Adana, before emptying into the Mediterranean Sea. The Ceyhan River originates in the eastern Taurus Mountains in Kahramanmaraş province, joined also by the Aksu River from the east, and enters Cilicia in the northeast of the region, crossing through the city of Misis and reaching the Mediterranean at the entrance to the İskenderun Bay (at classical Mallus). And the Berdan or Tarsus River travels a short course from the Taurus Mountains to the Mediterranean coast just north of the city of Tarsus. Each of these rivers provides maritime access to inland regions, and many coastal settlements took advantage

of their deltas; they also provided direct points of connection for ships travelling to and from Cyprus and other Mediterranean locations (on the geography of the Core Region, see for example, Seton-Williams 1954; Alkım 1959, 1960; Carter et al. 1998; Yener 2005; Batiuk et al. 2007; Konyar 2007, 2011; Novák et al. 2017; Akar and Avşar 2019).

In addition to physical geography, this region is also significant for its political geography. In the Late Bronze Age, the Cilician plain was home to the kingdom of Kizzuwadna, while the northernmost region of the Levant was divided primarily among the kingdoms of Mukiš, Aleppo, and Ugarit (Klengel 1992; Singer 1999; Yon 2004; Bryce 2005; Novák 2010; Trameri 2020); the Bend, on the other hand, was apparently already a political vacuum by at least the last centuries of the Late Bronze Age. While each of these polities fought for autonomy throughout much of the Late Bronze Age, they all fell under Hittite hegemony in the mid-14th century BCE; yet the communities of these kingdoms retained their cultural, religious, and to an extent political diversity even while under the authority of the Hittite empire. After the fall of the empire, the region returned to its previously fragmented state.

During the Iron Age, the space was characterized by a highly variable political situation that included several small kingdoms of fluctuating size and influence (Wartke 2005; Harrison 2009; Hawkins 2009; Bryce 2012, 2016; Simon 2020; Osborne 2021); core among these were Palastina/Patina/Unqi, Hiyawa/Que, Gurgum/Marqas, and Yadiya/Sam'al, each defined differently by specific people groups and at certain times. Due to the maximum possible extent of these polities and the distribution of materials and, especially, inscriptions associated with them, this central area may be extended beyond the core to answer specific research questions, reaching south to include Hama, perhaps even as far as Qatna; east to include Halab, but not the

Euphrates bend; west to include parts of Rough Cilicia and the kingdom of Hilakku; and north to include the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountains and part of the kingdom of Tuwana. The polities and peoples within these extensions are only considered secondarily to the Core Region, but they are centrally relevant to certain questions of the developmental trajectory of local and regional traditions and identities, the extent and directions of cultural and political influence, and the mobility of populations and material culture.

Already, the micro-regions of Cilicia and the northern Levant have been connected based on material connections, such as the presence of similar Aegean(-style) pottery and Syro-Hittite monuments, as well as philological evidence of Aegean/Mediterranean migrations, particularly in the names of certain new Iron Age polities, namely Palastina and Hiyawa, reminiscent of the Philistines and Ahhiyawa, respectively (Birney 2007; Hawkins 2009; Dinçol et al. 2015). On the other hand, the region of the Bend and the polities that emerged within it are traditionally examined separately, despite their geographical adjacency and chronological contemporaneity.[7] The Bend, in particular, adds a component unseen in the other micro-regions of the Core Region. Quite uniquely, the monumental productions of this region attest to an elite community, perhaps an aristocracy, illustrated by shared funerary traditions and memorialization. While these practices have been identified as a Syro-Hittite characteristic of northern Syria and southern Anatolia (Bonatz 2000), a micro-regional analysis demonstrates substantial regional variations

[7] It is not uncommon for the kingdom of Sam'al to be considered in the context of interactions with Hiyawa across the Amanus to the west or with Patina/Unqi to the south, but Gurgum is typically excluded from discussions of political interactions between polities in the Core Region (Hawkins 2009; Yakubovich 2015; Simon 2020). Due to apparent cultural connections between Gurgum and Sam'al – despite obvious distinctions – it is necessary to consider the region as a whole, inclusive of both political entities, especially considering that the Bend provides not only the physical, geographic link between the other two micro-regions, but also divides them and provides a physical space for interregional interactions beyond those taking place by maritime means.

and indeed the absence of the tradition in some micro-regions altogether. In the Core Region, the Bend is characterized by elite participation in an informal funerary cultic institution that extends across the political boundary between Gurgum and Sam'al but is almost entirely absent in Cilicia and is strikingly different in the northern Levant. Thus, this informal institution provides a meaningful contrast to the formal institutions of the palace and the temple identified in each micro-region, in turn providing a more comprehensive understanding of the Iron Age history of the Core Region.

Additionally, the Core Region displays several elements of cultural uniformity that suggest similar or parallel processes of development from Late Bronze Age traditions, such as in the cultic sphere, exemplified by the cult of the Storm God, or in forms of monumental art and urban planning. Several major works have studied these phenomena, but with different geographical or chronological scopes or different analytical priorities altogether (Bryce 2012; Gilibert 2011; Younger 2016; Osborne 2021). While cultic practice and specific deities have been the focus of a number of studies in the Near East in general (e.g., Schwemer 2001; 2007; 2008), or the Syro-Anatolian region in some cases (e.g., Bonatz 2000; 2016), the Core Region of this project has only received sparing attention and usually only through the lens of a single site or a selection of texts or monuments (e.g., Bunnens 2006; Herrmann and Schloen 2014). This project will evaluate the role and development of several major deities in a regional perspective focusing on local trends.[8] It will similarly assess the use of public monuments and architecture in expressions of political and religious community identity. As the Core Region includes several unique political entities, communities of diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, and multiple

[8] For previous attempts at such an approach, see Weeden (2018); Lovejoy and Matessi (2023); Lovejoy (in press).

cult centers, and a great number of cultic monuments, of varying regional significance, it is ideal for a holistic, micro-historical approach.

In the last twenty or so years, the Core Region has also produced an abundance of new archaeological data and several important inscriptions, which require a reevaluation of the historical processes at work during the Iron Age. Historical reconstructions have been attempted at smaller scales as scholars identified individual changes to our understanding of the Iron Age history of selected parts of the region (e.g., Hawkins 2009; Bryce 2016), or in large-scale reference works focused on changes across a much larger area (e.g., Bryce 2012; Younger 2016), or through isolated material indices, especially ceramics (e.g., Birney 2007; Janeway 2017). Only with Osborne's recent book (2021) do we find an up-to-date monograph aiming to provide a materially and textually informed history of the region during the Iron Age; however, his synchronic approach and specific research questions necessitate the addition of a diachronic analysis of the data to answer a number of remaining questions. By isolating the Core Region of this project for such a study, this dissertation aims to fulfill part of that need with a fine-grained analysis of historical data over the course of the whole Iron Age.

This area is central to discussions of ethnicity and population movements, as it is a nexus for both maritime and land-based exchange, and it displays evidence of numerous interacting cultural influences, extending from Mesopotamia to the Aegean. A great many studies are focused on the possibility of Aegean migrations or alternative explanations for the distribution of Aegean or Aegean-style material culture throughout the Levant. While the majority of scholarship related to Aegean migrations to the Levant has focused on the south and the identity of the Philistines, it is quite common to assume that the north was a part of the same process,

perhaps a stop along the way.[9] This is often due to textual and material markers of Aegean presence or influence in Cilicia and the northern Levant, but the data is at times carelessly plugged into preexisting models and rarely studied in its own right. The crux of the debate lies in whether Aegean groups migrated to the Levant in the 12th century BCE (Dothan 1982) or did elements of Aegean material culture reach the Levant through exchange or some other form of interaction (Sherratt 1998). While some scholars still interpret a single large-scale migration event (Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2013; Mountjoy 2013; 2018), many now support the idea of a long-term process that included a series of migrations at multiple scales (Kopanias 2018; Wallace 2018; Pitkänen 2019), perhaps including both maritime and land-based movements (Yasur-Landau 2010). Others have excluded the possibility of any sort of large-scale migration, suggesting a decentralized movement of merchants, mercenaries, pirates, and craftsmen, who only occasionally settled in the Levant (Sherratt 2017; Maeir 2019; Maeir, Hitchcock, and Horowitz 2013).

Fewer works on Aegean interactions with the Levant prioritize indigenous characteristics or the role of local populations beyond a blanket reference to 'local agency' or 'selectivity'.[10] And while the Core Region of this project has gained increased interest, particularly in the last two decades, the majority of studies, at least from the Mediterranean or Aegean perspective, are concerned with two particular windows in time: the 12th century BCE with the possible 'Sea

[9] However, note Osborne's recent assertion that the communities of the Syro-Anatolian region (SACC) shared a common, hybrid culture, which emerged as a product of Early Iron Age migrations of multiple groups (e.g., 2021: 35).

[10] See, however, Hodos (2006) for a study of local responses to colonization in which Al-Mina served as a case study, and Vacek (2017) on the same site. Additionally, Welton et al. (2019) and Pucci (2019) have recently investigated the role of local populations in the Early Iron Age for the sites of Tell Tayinat and Çatal Höyük in the Amuq plain, respectively, however their results are similarly restricted geographically and chronologically.

Peoples'/Philistine migration; and the 8th century BCE with the much debated port of Al-Mina and the apparently intrusive Phoenician inscriptions in the region (Boardman 1980; 1990; 1999; 2002a; 2002b; Barako 2001; Luke 2003; Yasur-Landau 2010; Vacek 2012; 2014; 2017; Killebrew and Lehmann 2013; Radner and Vacek 2020; Osborne 2021: 73). The foundation of the port of Al-Mina, in particular, is primarily studied from an Aegeanist perspective, even though the problematic site fell within the territory of a Syro-Anatolian kingdom and was founded during the period of Assyrian expansion in the region.

This region is also uniquely situated with substantial evidence for linguistic diversity, quite different from the surrounding regions. Luwian, written in its hieroglyphic script, was utilized in monumental inscriptions at an early stage of the Iron Age and persisted in colloquial use throughout the period, at least down to the early 7th century, with direct evidence coming in the form of epistolary texts (Hawkins 2000).[11] This region also experienced the intrusion and development of several other scripts as local languages found media for their inscription and interregional interactions brought with them foreign scripts and languages. With Assyrian campaigns came, first, Akkadian in the Assyrian dialect and, later, the Aramaic used throughout much of the empire. Aramaic, of course, was already used in much of the surrounding regions, but its writing in the core region came mostly after Assyrian intervention (Donner and Röllig 2002; Gzella 2015). Additionally, along with Cyprus, the Core Region is also the first place outside of the central Levant to bear evidence for the use of the Phoenician script and language (KAI 24 (KULAMUWA); Çambel 1999 (KARATEPE); Tekoğlu et al. 2001 (CİNEKÖY);

[11] Epistolary texts include the lead strip letters from Kululu and Aššur (Hawkins 2000: 503-5, 533-55) and an unpublished fragment of another found in Zincirli's lower town (Virginia Herrmann, pers. comm. 2018).

Yakubovich 2015; López-Ruiz 2021: 298-305), and later even became home to a unique local language in the form of Sam'alian, which developed through the interactions between Aramaic, Luwian, and perhaps also Phoenician (Tropper 1993; Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021). Equally as important for the Core Region is the small, but significant, number of multilingual inscriptions, both supporting the idea of multilingual and cosmopolitan communities at the junction between the Mediterranean and western Asia and representing the ways in which certain polities selected and combined different scripts and languages for their political messaging and expressions of identity.

While no comprehensive history has been written on this Core Region, individual articles have summarized political and military deeds for individual kingdoms (Wartke 2005; Novák 2010; Weeden 2013; Emmanuel 2015; Bryce 2016; Harrison 2009; 2019; Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021; Novák and Fucks 2021), and larger volumes have covered broad strokes, such as genealogies and foundations (Klengel 1992; Kuhrt 1995; Dion 1997; Lipiński 2000; Bryce 2012; van de Mieroop 2016; Younger 2016). This project builds upon this scholarship by constructing a micro-history with the Core Region as its focus, not simply as it relates to external powers. It also explores the possibility that this area was controlled by or under the influence of a single polity sometime between the 11th and 10th centuries BCE, during the height of Palastinean success. The shifting borders of this polity are by no means well understood, nor are scholars in agreement regarding the composition of society, the identity of the ruling elite, or the extent of political or cultural influence. However, both textual and artifactual evidence suggest that the kingdom of Palastina, with its capital at Tell Tayinat in the Amuq, may have extended as far as Qatna, Aleppo, Zincirli, and perhaps Adana in Cilicia. The relationship between the polity and its

more distant areas of influence is not yet clear, but the possible coherence of the Core Region under one political entity for part of this period provides another reason for its selection as a topic of study.

1.2.2 Chronological Scope

The broad chronological focus of this work is on the Iron Age. This period is understood in this work as beginning with the collapse of the Late Bronze Age palatial systems around the beginning of the 12th century BCE and concluding in the mid-6th century BCE with the Achaemenid expansion into the west. Since the present investigation aims to understand the local communities of the northeast Mediterranean, its chronological scope extends from the Early Iron Age only until the early 7th century BCE – here defined as the transition from the Middle to Late Iron Age – when the region was largely provincialized under the Assyrian empire and lost most of its autonomy and previous local character. While the periodization of the Iron Age (and even the use of the term itself) in the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia is often challenged along disciplinary lines or the preferences of various scholars, it is a necessary process for situating any historical or archaeological work within its broader field (Morris 1997; Kotsonas 2016). The broad issue of chronology will not be treated here,[12] but the specific arguments for the periodization of the Iron Age in the Core Region are briefly summarized below.

The period of interest, ca. 1175 to 675 BCE, is an ideal window of time for the study of processes of social, political, and cultic development. With the end of the Late Bronze Age

[12] For the ongoing debate over high and low chronologies centered around the Bronze and Iron Age, especially in the Levant, see Finkelstein (1995; 2005; 2018), Mazar (1997; 2011), Gilboa and Sharon (2003), van der Plicht, Bruins, and Nijboer (2009), Fantalkin, Finkelstein, and Piasetzky (2011), Bruins, Nijboer, and van der Plicht (2011), and Sharon (2014).

imperial and palatial powers (Ward and Joukowsky 1992; Fischer and Bürge 2017; Knapp and Manning 2016; Cline 2021), the Syro-Anatolian region was characterized by the absence of any overarching political influence, contrasting with its previous situation under Hittite hegemony. Instead, local powers that are often characterized as Hittite 'rump states' – such as Karkemiš and Malatya – or some variation of city-, ethnic-, or tribal-states dotted the region during the Early Iron Age (Harrison 2009; Simon 2020). This is not a unique feature to the Core Region but was a feature of the majority of western Asia after the Late Bronze Age until the expansion of the Assyrian empire (Liverani 2014; Cline, in press).[13] Our chronological range thus begins with a period *between* empires, a period of fragmentation and reconsolidation during which local communities and small kingdoms could grow and develop relatively independently. Those first centuries featured increased mobility (both by land and sea; perhaps including migrations of varying scales) and identity making, several independent instances of state formation, expansion, and decline, as well as the selective adaptation and innovation of various cultic traditions.

Chronological divisions within the Iron Age are typically based on major sociopolitical changes evidenced in textual sources or material indices of the past. In particular, the shift from the Early Iron Age to the Middle Iron Age (or Iron Age I to II, often with further subdivisions) has been marked by the appearance of Red Slipped Burnished Ware (RSBW) pottery throughout the Levant in the late 10th century (Mazzoni 2014: 685-687; Osborne 2021: 29), the construction of the *bit hilani* palaces in northwest Syria and the emergence of small ivory production

[13] The major monographs investigating the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition are complemented by edited volumes focused on the specific processes of the transition (Fischer et al. 2003; Venturi 2010; Yener 2013; Masetti Rouault et al., in press) and articles investigating particular case studies and aiming to test different theoretical approaches (Frangipane et al. 2018; Pucci 2019a; d'Alfonso 2020; Giacosa and Zaina 2020; d'Alfonso and Lovejoy 2023; d'Alfonso, in press).

beginning in the second half of the 10th century (Mazzoni 2000: 125-128; 2013: 480; Osborne 2012), and by changes in monumentality and civic ritual performance beginning around the same time (Gilibert 2011: 119). These points of evidence have led Mazzoni to understand the transition as occurring around 900 BCE, while Osborne preferred a date around 950 BCE (2021: 29). Taking these indices in conjunction with changes in monumental representations of royal and divine figures around the end of the 10th century (Lovejoy 2022; in press), as well as epigraphic developments at the same period (d'Alfonso and Payne 2016), this work accepts a transition between 925 and 875 BCE, or late 10th to early 9th century, effectively following suit with Mazzoni's dating; however, that these processes may have begun a generation earlier cannot be disproven.

Historically, from the 9th century BCE onward, the region received the attention of the Neo-Assyrian empire, which sought to control and subordinate the many social and political groups that populated the space. The local responses to Assyrian campaigns, political subordination, and eventual expansion, conquest, and direct inclusion, were varied over space and time, both between and within the polities of the region. The multitude of interactions and relationships resulted in differences in monumentality, urbanism, choices of script and language use and display, and other indices of material culture visible in both public and domestic contexts (e.g., Bing 1969; Lanfranchi 2005; Harrison 2014; Denel and Harrison 2018; Herrmann 2018; Soldi 2020; Lovejoy 2022). However, the common threat of Assyria also led to coalitions between local polities, which may have aided in producing shared cultural traditions, as well as increased factionalization within polities, which may have emphasized internal cultural variations.

By the end of the 8th or beginning of the 7th century BCE, nearly all local polities within the Core Region were greatly diminished in political strength or were entirely subsumed within new provinces of the Assyrian empire – a trend which encompassed nearly all of the Levant, Mesopotamia, and the Syro-Anatolian region; the resultant material culture has been characterized as a product of local emulation of Assyria, Assyrianization, or an Assyrian *koine* (e.g., Cifarelli 1995; Mazzoni 2001; Berlejung 2012; Wicke 2015; however, for a recent challenge to this paradigm, see Thompson 2023). It is this loss of local autonomy in political and cultural expressions that provides a suitable chronological end for this project. This period concludes with the eventual fall of the empire at the end of the 7th century BCE, and along with the empire went the last remaining traces of the local Early-Middle Iron Age communities and polities of the Core Region. What followed was different – local communities and identities still persisted in the area, but with different interregional interactions and cultural influences – and is beyond the scope of this project.

1.3 Sources

The broad historical scope of this project requires the use of a wide array of primary sources, both textual and material.

1.3.1 Primary Textual Sources

Primary textual sources largely come from the corpora of Luwian, Phoenician, and Aramaic texts originating from, or discovered within, the primary geographical space. I have mostly dealt with texts in other languages, e.g., Assyrian, in secondary literature due to the etic perspective of much of the internal content.

The entirety of the Iron Age Luwian corpus is less than 350 total texts and text fragments written in the hieroglyphic script, consisting mostly of royal monumental inscriptions and a small number of letters and seals, and most are quite short; those texts within the primary geographical scope of this project number about fifty and range from inscribed statues, orthostats, and stelae to a single fragment of a letter and a signet ring. Most of these texts were collected by Hawkins in the CHLI (2000), and those published since are easily accessible. Of these more recently published texts, the inscriptions of the Aleppo temple (Hawkins 2011) are of incredible importance for this study, as are the inscriptions of Arsuz (Dinçol et al. 2015), Çineköy (Tekoğlu et al. 2001), and several other smaller texts from the Core Region and neighboring lands.

Phoenician and Aramaic texts in the region date only from the 9th century onward and are found in smaller numbers than their Luwian counterparts: during this time, less than ten Phoenician inscriptions have been discovered north of Byblos – including the inscription of Kulamuwa in Sam'al (KAI 24) and several inscriptions commissioned by the rulers of Hiyawa (KAI 23, 26, and 287; Tekoğlu et al. 2001; Kaufman 2007) from within the Core Region – and a slightly larger number of Aramaic inscriptions have been found in our primary region of interest, though this includes several duplicate texts (KAI 201, 202, 216-221, 222-227); additionally, four inscriptions composed in the local Sam'alian language have also been found within the territory of the eponymous kingdom (KAI 214 and 215; Pardee 2009; Lemaire and Sass 2013). Most of these texts are royal inscriptions and, like the Luwian texts, many are rather short. The majority of relevant Northwest Semitic texts have been collected in Donner and Röllig's KAI (2002), in Lipiński's collections of inscriptions (1974, 1994, 2010, 2016), or in Tropper's analysis of the

texts from Zincirli (1993). This collection of texts provides insight into the diverse political and cultic landscapes of the core region within our chronological scope.

Several multilingual inscriptions are known from the Core Region, as well. These are the Phoenician-Luwian bilinguals of Karatepe (CHLI II) and Çineköy (Tekoğlu et al. 2001) and the possibly trilingual Phoenician-Akkadian-Luwian(?) inscription of İncirli, all of which are associated directly with the Cilician kingdom of Hiyawa. Additionally, the Luwian-Phoenician bilingual at İvriz (Röllig 2013), produced by the kingdom of Tuwana, was found just across the Taurus from Cilicia.

I have treated some texts mostly through secondary sources. Royal Assyrian inscriptions (published in the RIMA (Grayson 1996) and RINAP (Leichty 2011; Tadmor and Yamada 2011; Grayson and Novotny 2012; 2014; Novotny and Jeffers 2018; Frame 2021) series; also available online through UPenn's ORACC project) have been studied at great length, often focusing on the deeds of individual kings (Yamada 2000; Fuchs 1994; 1998) or in broad summary. I have only examined the Assyrian annals directly for their specific historical framework with reference to our area of focus. However, I have fully analyzed the Assyrian texts found within our geographical scope – and perhaps written locally – such as Esarhaddon's succession treaty from Tell Tayinat (Lauinger 2012). I have mainly considered through secondary literature any relevant texts dating before the 12th century BCE, such as the Late Bronze Age Hittite and Ugaritic mythological traditions, which appear to inspire Iron Age cultic traditions (Smith 1994; Hoffner and Beckman 1998; Smith and Pitard 2009; Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011; Weeden 2018). I have likewise treated Ancient Greek texts referring to the region and its peoples, for instance in

the context of migration and colonization, through secondary literature (e.g., Baldriga 1994; Oettinger 2008; Gander 2012; Simon 2018).

1.3.2 Archaeological Sources

A vast array of archaeological materials has been unearthed at a range of different types of sites across our region, including urban and rural settlements, sacred sites, and apparently unsettled landscapes. For this project, I reviewed data from both excavations and surveys. I surveyed sites from three micro-regions for material evidence, with a focus on complete assemblages, rather than any one material index: the area including and surrounding the Amuq valley from the Mediterranean Sea to Aleppo, the area of western Gaziantep Province from the city of the same name to the İskenderun Bay, and Plain Cilicia and the surrounding mountains of the Taurus and Amanus ranges. While I examined complete assemblages, not all material indices were considered in the final analyses of the project, largely due to issues of limited comparability of datasets or degree of publication, but also because I determined that certain material indices served better than others as proxies for specific institutions. Public architecture and associated assemblages, non-architectural monuments like stelae, statues, orthostats, and rock reliefs, and portable objects with iconographic and epigraphic data were taken as representative of political and cultic institutions.

I have organized the sites and survey areas with well-published and thus accessible materials that provided the core archaeological evidence for this project by micro-region below, beginning with the northern Levant, then the Bend, and concluding with Cilicia.

Northern Levant: The Amuq valley has been the focus of several regional projects, including both surveys and excavations, producing Iron Age materials at several key sites (Swift 1958; Braidwood and Braidwood 1960; Haines 1971; Yener et al. 2000; Casana 2012; Osborne 2013). A survey of the Gabla plain in coastal Syria has produced significant Bronze and Iron Age remains (Riis et al. 2004).

Tell Tayinat: The primary urban settlement of the region and the capital of the kingdom of Palastina/Patina/Unqi has produced Iron Age levels dating from the 12th to 7th century BCE in two major expeditions, with the second currently ongoing (Batiuk et al. 2005; Harrison 2001; 2005; 2009; 2011; 2013; 2014; Janeway 2017; Welton et al. 2019; Osborne et al. 2019; Snow, forthcoming).

Tell Atçana: The previous capital of the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Mukiš was mostly abandoned in the 14th to 13th century BCE. Only the earliest Iron Age levels have been unearthed, primarily around a single Bronze Age temple, but ongoing excavations suggest a limited residential occupation into the Early Iron Age, as well (Woolley 1955; Yener 2010; Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019; Montesanto and Pucci 2019; Yener and Ingman 2020).

Çatal Höyük: A large rural settlement that was continuously occupied from the Chalcolithic through the Iron Age. It is interpreted as a subordinate settlement to nearby Tell Tayinat (Pucci 2013; 2016; 2019a; 2019b).

Sabuniye: The Late Bronze and Early Iron Age port city of the Amuq region and likely controlled by the kingdom of Mukiš. It was a small settlement that remained occupied after

sedimentation ended port activities. It has only surveyed and minimally excavated (Pamir 2006; 2013; 2014).

Al-Mina: Middle Iron Age port of the Amuq region that was likely controlled by the kingdom of Patina/Unqi and the later Assyrian province of Kinalia; however, an extremely high concentration of Greek pottery at the foundation levels has led to other interpretations. The site was founded in the 9th century BCE and destroyed at the beginning of the 7th century BCE, though some form of occupation seems to have persisted into the 4th century BCE (Robertson 1940; Woolley 1948; Boardman 1980; 1990; 2002a; 2002b; Kearsley 1999; Papadopoulos 1997; 2011; Luke 2003; Lehmann 2005; Vacek 2012; 2014; 2017; Radner and Vacek 2020).

Aleppo: A major superregional sacred site and location of the temple of the Storm God of Aleppo. Stratigraphic evidence is limited, but architectural and monumental art at the site are well-documented and of critical importance to this study (Kohlmeyer 2000; 2009; 2012; Gonnella, Khayyata, and Kohlmeyer 2005; Aro 2010).

‘ayn Dara: The location of a large temple to an unknown deity – perhaps Ištar – and a small, partially excavated settlement on the lower mound. Iron Age levels make up a large portion of documented materials, but the transition from Late Bronze to Iron Age is still poorly understood, and it will likely remain so following modern destruction activities (Abou Assaf 1990; 1996; Stone and Zimansky 1999; Kohlmeyer 2008; Novák 2012).

Tell Afis: An urban center within the kingdom of Palastina and very likely the later city of Hazrak, the capital of Lu’aš. A citadel contained a temple and later administrative buildings. The settlement was continuously occupied with domestic and public contexts (Oggiana 1997;

Cecchini and Mazzoni 1998; Venturi 2007; 2010; 2020; Cecchini 2014; Mazzoni 2012; 2013; 2014; 2016; 2019; Soldi 2009).

Tell Kazel: A coastal urban settlement with a series of occupations and destructions through the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. Ceramics suggest extensive interaction with Cyprus and the Aegean. The settlement is probably to be identified as ancient Simyra (Dunand et al. 1964; Badre 1994; 2006; Badre et al. 2005; Capet 2003).

Tell Sukas: A port city known as Suksi in the Late Bronze Age and Luhuti in the Iron Age. The settlement includes an Early Iron Age cemetery, a Late Iron Age Phoenician temple, and a large quantity of Greek pottery and some Greek burials from later levels (Riis 1970; 1983; Riis et al. 1996; Lund 1986).

Tell Tweini: A near-coastal, walled, urban settlement with Late Bronze and Iron Age occupations. Remains include a Phoenician sanctuary, domestic and public structures, and a street system dated to the Iron Age. The site is possibly to be identified as ancient Gibala (Bretschneider and van Lerberghe 2008; Bretschneider et al. 2008; Bretschneider et al. 2011; Bretschneider et al. 2012; Bretschneider et al. 2014; Bretschneider and Jans 2019).

The Bend: The Land of Carchemish Project surveyed a large number of sites in the eastern half of this region, particularly seeking to understand their connection with the site at the center of the study (Wilkinson et al. 2016). The western half of this region lacks any substantial and well-published regional studies, though preliminary results have appeared for the Kahramanmaraş region (Konyar 2007; 2011).

Zincirli Höyük: A major urban settlement founded in the 10th or early 9th century BCE as the capital of Sam'al/Yadiya. It includes a walled citadel with public architecture and walled lower town with domestic structures (Von Luschan 1893; 1898; 1902; 1911; Andrae and Von Luschan 1943; Tropper 1993; Schloen and Fink 2007; 2009; Casana and Herrmann 2010; Herrmann 2011; 2017; 2018; Herrmann and Schloen 2014; 2016; 2018; 2021; Pucci 2015; Schloen, Herrmann, and Kalaycı 2019).

Gerçin Höyük: The settlement mound remains unexcavated, but preliminary surveys identified Bronze and Iron Age ceramics, two fortification walls, and several Iron Age statues, including one that describes a temple and royal necropolis supposedly at the site (Luschan 1893; Wartke 2005; Schloen and Herrmann 2016).

Yesemek: A stone quarry and sculpture workshop founded in the 14th century BCE and particularly active during the 9th century, not far from Zincirli Höyük (Alkım 1974; Temizsoy 1992; Duru 2001b; 2004; 2011; Tuğcu 2012; Başkaya and Türk 2014; Tetik 2016).

Tilmen Höyük: A large urban settlement with limited Iron Age material due to later reuse. Cyclopean walls are attributed to the end of the turn of the 2nd to 1st millennium and several circular storage buildings are dated to the Iron Age (Duru 2001a; 2003; 2013).

Coba Höyük-Sakçagözü: An urban settlement with city walls, a palace with *bit hilani*, and a substantial corpus of relief orthostats dating to the late 8th century BCE (Garstang 1908; 1912-1913; du Plat Taylor et al. 1950; Ussishkin 1966; Çifçi 2019).

Cilicia: A number of surveys and archaeological studies have focused on Cilicia or the various river valleys within the region (Garstang 1937-1939; Seton-Williams 1954; Jean, Dinçol, and Durugönül 2001; Konyar 2007; Salmeri and D'Agata 2011; Tülek and Öğüt 2013; Novák et al. 2017; Jean 2019).

Tarsus-Gözlükule: The Early Iron Age settlement is characterized by an apsidal structure and a series of pottery ovens. Middle and Late Iron Age streets and architecture retained the same plan, and a fortification wall was constructed in the last phases. Ceramics indicate deep connection with Cypriot traditions, increasing exchange and eventual emulation of Greek materials, and an intrusion of Assyrian wares (Goldman 1963; Özyar 2005; Mommsen et al. 2011; Yalcın 2013; Aslı, Ünlü, and Pilavcı 2019).

Kilise Tepe: The Iron Age occupation at the site is mostly represented by a series of surfaces with ephemeral walls and occasional storage structures and ovens. Ceramics are mostly local with increasing Aegean and Cypriot influence (Postgate and Thomas 2007; Postgate 2008; Postgate 2017; Bouthillier et al. 2014).

Sirkeli Höyük: An urban settlement consisting of a walled citadel, plateau, and walled lower town. It includes public and domestic architecture as well as trash deposits (Ahrens et al. 2010; Kozal and Novák 2013; Novák, Kozal, and Yasin 2020; Novák 2020).

Yumuk Tepe: Following an apparent Early Iron Age hiatus, the site comprised limited domestic architecture only detected on the summit of the mound. Ceramics indicate Aegean influence and suggest an 8th century BCE reoccupation (Garstang 1953; Caneva and Sevin 2004; Caneva and Köroğlu 2010).

Kinet Höyük: A mounded settlement at the border between Cilicia and the Amuq with citadel and lower town. The Early Iron Age at the site begins with a depositional phase after a Late Bronze Age destruction. The Middle Iron Age was characterized by a series of monumental architectural phases, renewed interaction with Cyprus, Assyrian occupation and destruction, followed by limited Aegean/Aegeanizing ceramics (Gates 1998; 1999; 2001; 2003; 2004; 2006; 2007; 2013; Lehmann 2016).

Adana Tepebağ: A mounded settlement that was occupied from at least the Late Bronze Age to the present. Iron Age levels include two architectural phases and a three-phase stratigraphic ceramic sequence (Şahin 2016a; 2016b; 2017; Yaşin and Dervişoğlu 2019).

Misis Höyük: An urban center with multiple phases of production and storage structures dating to the 10th to 8th century BCE – early phases of excavation are still in progress. Ceramics indicate an increasing connection with Aegean and Cyprus during the Iron Age (D'Agata 2017; 2019a; 2019b; Salmeri et al., forthcoming).

Karatepe: A fortified border settlement with public architecture and monumental gate complexes founded in the 8th century BCE (Çambel 1948; 2014; Bossert et al. 1950; Ussishkin 1969; Winter 1979; Darga 1986; Çambel and Özyar 2003; Lanfranchi 2007; Özyar 2013; Sicker-Akman, Bossert, and Fischer-Bossert 2014; Demir 2021; Novák and Fuchs 2021; Lovejoy 2022).

Monuments, public architecture, and administrative technologies have provided physical evidence of shifting political allegiances and factional hierarchies, of manifestations of power and dominance, and of processes of administration and governance. The organization of sacred spaces – both architectural and landscape – as well as monumental representations of deities, and

the materials found around sacred spaces and sacred monuments, has offered insight into public and elite cult practices and religious ideologies. Ceramic, domestic, and bioarchaeological assemblages were also examined, however, the available data is not distributed throughout the region evenly enough for productive comparison and analysis, so even when the evidence provided insight into political or cultic institutions at a given site, it was largely left aside or included only in specific instances. Likewise, archaeological surveys provide evidence for settlement patterns and hierarchies within some regions, but a lack of well-published areas, particularly outside of the northern Levantine micro-region, prevented their inclusion within this study. Should new research and publications emerge, these data will certainly help to complete the analysis of Iron Age institutions of the northeast Mediterranean begun in this work.

1.4 Chapters Descriptions and Organization

Following this introduction (Chapter 1), the theoretical framework and methodological considerations for this project are elaborated. This next chapter provides a foundation for the investigation of institutions, identities, and communities within a multi-scalar, micro-regional, and micro-historical investigation of the cultural landscapes of the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean that developed through processes of glocalization (Chapter 2). The historical background of the region illustrates the traditional understanding of historical developments from the end of the Late Bronze Age with the collapse and fragmentation of the political landscape through the end of the Middle Iron Age with the loss of local autonomy and intensification of Assyrian provincialization; this chapter in particular integrates etic Assyrian textual sources into the narrative produced by local emic sources from the Core Region (Chapter 3). An evaluation of the political and cultic landscapes of the Iron Age follows, each examining

the architectural, iconographic, and textual evidence for their micro-regional developments over the course of the Iron Age, with emphases on local institutions of kingship and distinct cultic communities, respectively. From the analysis of the political landscape of the Core Region, the uniquely constructed political identities of individual rulers comes to light, and an understanding of the processes that resulted in distinct institutions of kingship in each kingdom emerges (Chapter 4). The geographical and chronological trajectories for the evolution of the cults of certain deities and their conceptualizations is illustrated through the examination of the Core Region's cultic landscape, and micro-regionally defined funerary cults provide evidence for informal cultic institutions that extend beyond political boundaries (Chapter 5). Finally, the conclusions highlight the relationship between cult and politics, as well as instances of Late Bronze Age legacy, Iron Age innovations, particular institutional developments, and the making of intersectional identities in the Iron Age cultural landscapes of the northeast Mediterranean (Chapter 6).

2. Approaching the Iron Age Northeast Mediterranean

The Iron Age in the Near East is often considered a period of reduced complexity following the collapse of Late Bronze Age powers. Yet, in the Mediterranean, the same period is characterized by increased connectivity and new interregional interactions, suggesting instead changes in, or perhaps even increased, complexity. Considering the involvement of the Levant in the developing Mediterranean networks, along with our growing understanding of the emerging political and cultural landscapes of the Core Region, it is abundantly evident that a reevaluation of Near Eastern complexity in this period is necessary.

This chapter begins with a summary of methodological considerations and the historiographical practices applied in this works (Section 2.1). Particularly, a micro-historical, micro-regional, and multi-scalar approach is employed throughout the dissertation and defined in this section, as is the empirical approach applied to a large sum of evidence collected and presented together for the first time here. The use of certain terminology, both ancient and modern, is also elaborated in this section.

This project aims to understand the variety of complex local and regional developments that occurred within the political and cultic landscapes of an emerging and connected Iron Age world. It investigates the connection between political and cultic institutions and the role of these institutions in the making of related group identities. Within the scope of this project, the term institution is understood to include both formal institutions and their organizations, such as palaces and temples, and informal institutions, like funerary traditions and language (Section 2.2.1). Both types of institutions are often considered markers of social complexity, and their

emergence and development during the Early Iron Age provide the justification to challenge the idea of a post-collapse decline following the Late Bronze Age in the region. This period in the Core Region is also characterized by the formation and progressive development of several novel group identities, including several connected with related political and cultic institutions, i.e., political and cultic identities (Section 2.2.2). While the definition of political identity is relatively straightforward and can be understood through expressions of power by individual rulers, dynasties, or polities, the concept of cultic identity is, perhaps, less intuitive. To access such an identity, this work adopts the concept of a cultic community whose participants share similar beliefs and practices related to their worship of the divine. This cultic community is, thus, just one type of community, sharing elements of communities of practice, geographic communities, and imagined communities (Section 2.2.3). While the development of similar institutions and related identities occurred throughout much of the Core Region of this project, often through connected processes, it did so with substantial local and micro-regional variations, illustrating a process of glocalization (Section 2.2.4). Altogether, these social and political developments are framed through the concept of cultural landscapes (Section 2.2.5), distinguished in the succeeding chapters between Political Landscape (Ch. 4) and Cultic Landscape (Ch. 5). These cultural landscapes are evaluated for the whole of the Core Region, but also within each micro-region, and they are considered diachronically from the end of the Late Bronze Age through the Iron Age until the period of Assyrian provincialization around the late 8th and early 7th century BCE. In the following sections, the key concepts noted above are defined through an elaboration of the theoretical foundations for the use of each term in the social sciences, in general, and in history and archaeology, specifically.

This work does not intend to interrogate the proposed laws of social development that govern changes in social norms and relationships proposed by renowned social theorists of the late 19th century (e.g., Durkheim, Marx, Weber, etc.) and advanced by scholars since, and so will not provide a complete literature review on the subject of social norms and institutions within society, nor on the possible dichotomy between society and communities (Tönnies 1887, 1957; Durkheim 1893; Berger 1998; Hobsbawm 2007; see also, Bruhn 2011 with further references therein), but a more abbreviated and targeted summary. Indeed, in this chapter, institutions and their role in society will be defined as they are used in this work with particular examples and contextualized in the setting of ancient history, specifically in the political and cultic landscapes of the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean.

2.1 Historiographical Methods

In this study, a truly historical approach is taken, as opposed to a purely philological, archaeological, or art historical one. It combines these disciplines and their respective evidences to produce a robust history of the northeast Mediterranean during the Iron Age. The major sources of evidence for this project include architectural remains, figural monuments, and epigraphic data. In order to approach such a vast array of material, certain decisions were made to provide limits and direction to the study. To analyze the historical developments of approximately five centuries, a limited geography was selected to allow for a comprehensive study of the evidence. Due to a lack of comparable and accessible datasets, several valuable types of evidence were excluded from the study, aside from cursory reflections; in particular, ceramics, domestic assemblages, archaeological surveys, and bioarchaeological data were examined, but mostly left out of the final analysis. While several robust studies have produced

great results in each of these areas, the micro-regions within the Core Region have received disproportionate attention in many data categories, thus limiting the effectiveness of their comparison. For instance, the ceramics of the northern Levant and Cilicia have been the focus of several studies, but they typically prioritize painted wares, especially painted 'Aegean-style' pottery (Luke 2003; Birney 2007; Lehmann 2013; French 2013a, 2013b; Janeway 2017). Only in the last few years have researchers started to study local painted pottery and common wares, as well as complete material assemblages, with equal attention, though this has only been done at individual sites and has not yet been put in regional context (Welton et al. 2019; Pucci 2019). Similarly problematic is the lack of published studies on the materials of the Bend, particularly the pottery, with the first monograph from the recent Zincirli excavations still forthcoming. Due to this evidentiary imbalance, the decision was made to exclude domestic assemblages from this study and, in turn, to leave aside the informal institutions of the family or household.

Several works have also focused on certain physical indices of various population groups, settlements, or landscapes – such as architecture or artistic productions – using them as proxies for cultural, political, or religious expression and change. Gilibert's monograph provides a deep investigation into the monumental art of a part of the Syro-Anatolian region and its relationship with performance and political power, but her study is limited to the sites of Karkemiš and Zincirli, and thus, her concluding diachronic analysis is only truly applicable to two geographically and politically disconnected urban settlements (2011). In contrast, several broad analyses of the development and production of monumental art across the region are only presented in summary with no in-depth case studies or any room for local variation (Mazzoni 2013; Osborne 2017a). And recently, Osborne has spearheaded several investigations into

connections between urban space, monumentality, and the impact of political change on both, using the citadel and lower town of Tell Tayinat as his primary case study set within a selective Syro-Anatolian region (2014; with Karacic 2017; et al. 2019; see also, Pucci 2008 and Harmanşah 2013). In this project, the corpus of monuments, architecture, and urban/rural/sacred space will be considered as an assemblage in order to detect related changes within the region in connection with social and political changes, as well as cultic developments.

Additionally, the vast majority of monographs focused on populations connected to the Core Region or on larger overlapping geographic spaces that cover a similar chronological scope derive most of their evidence from an etic perspective, namely that of the Assyrians. In this work, an effort is made to prioritize the internal evidence and the emic perspectives of local communities and polities within the Core Region, relegating the external sources to a complementary role to ensure that they do not create preemptive biases in the analysis. The traditional narrative history of this region, which relies heavily on the Assyrian textual evidence, is constructed in the following chapter; however, the analyses put forth in the remainder of the work relies primarily on evidence produced or discovered within the Core Region to allow its communities and actors to tell their own story as best as we modern scholars can interpret. Notably, based on the bulk of the primary sources used in this project – public architecture, figural or inscribed monuments, and texts – the perspectives that are put forth are inevitably those of elites, whether directly involved with formal institutions like the palace or temples, or simply wealthy and important enough to access or commission such evidence on their own, like the funerary stelae common in the Bend during the Middle Iron Age. Thus, the historical

processes analyzed and described in this work are most deeply reflective of local elites and their choices throughout the Iron Age within the northeast Mediterranean.

In order to illustrate in fine detail, the diachronic processes of political, cultic, and social development within Iron Age northeast Mediterranean world, a micro-historical approach has been utilized. While this small part of the world has been included in a number of macro-histories, it is often relegated to a peripheral consideration and only summarily investigated. By placing it at the forefront, this dissertation aims to understand its evolution from its own emic perspectives, not (only) as a product of external factors.

A major feature of histories of the Iron Age Near East is cultural division and classification – histories are written about 'the Aramaeans', 'the Neo-Hittites', or 'the Phoenicians', or in larger works, communities and polities are divided into similarly named 'spheres' as if any of those terms describe a unified people or cluster of kingdoms. Frequently, royal onomastics, names of political entities, or the simple presence of texts in a certain language are taken at face value as defining the character of society. This practice results in various adjacent and interacting kingdoms and their populations being regularly left out of histories because they are supposedly too dissimilar in ethnicity or group identity. Additionally, many are written purely or primarily from an Assyrian perspective, and without an adequate assessment of material evidence. This is, in fact, the case for most summary histories that include some or all of the Core Region of this project:

Liverani's seminal work on Near Eastern history epitomizes these methods; he divides the Early Iron Age by regions based on ethnic identity, primarily characterizes the Middle Iron Age through the growth of Assyria, and rarely and only summarily includes archaeological

material (1988; 2014). This practice is mirrored in the other major histories of Kuhrt (1995) and van de Mieroop (2016). On the other hand, Osborne has recently challenged these ethnic divisions in historiography, particularly concerning the separation of Luwians and Aramaeans, suggesting that "scholars could profit from seeing these two linguistic groups as participating in a common, if variable and fluctuating, cultural phenomenon" (2021: 5), rather than distinguishing them as separate and concrete cultures and languages (Liverani 2014: 434). To facilitate analysis and aid in the reduction of these divisions, I also follow Osborne in employing a "geographically oriented expression," i.e., Syro-Anatolian as opposed to culturally focused nomenclature like Syro- or Neo-Hittite or Aramaean, to avoid any "prior assumptions of cultural mechanisms" (2021: 7).

Several histories have, of course, been written specifically about certain culture groups that are important to the current study, such as the 'the Aramaeans', many of which are event-based political histories, perhaps with small sections discussing society, religion, or laws (Dion 1997; Lipiński 2000; Younger 2016); these similarly rely almost entirely on texts and frequently select evidence based on preconceived ethnic definitions. The essays of Niehr's edited volume provide perhaps the most well-rounded view of 'the Aramaeans', but a common theme stressed by many of the authors is the inability to define any 'Aramaean' traditions, practices, or material culture in contrast with anything 'Hittite/Anatolian' or broadly 'Levantine' (2014).

Bryce's event history of the 'Neo-Hittite Kingdoms' is similarly constructed – it is entirely text-based, concerned with political and military events, and organized around regional, ethnic assumptions (2012). On the other hand, the primary volume on – and in fact called – 'the Luwians' defines the group by language-use, but discusses the history, religion, and material

culture that should be attributed to populations of these Luwian-speakers as if language formed the core of a 'Luwian identity'; the authors are admittedly hesitant in this approach but follow it nonetheless (Melchert 2003). Recent discoveries have led to several updated histories of individual kingdoms that fell within this category – including the kingdoms of Palastina and Hiyawa, all of which are similarly conceived in narrative form (Weeden 2013; Emanuel 2015; Bryce 2016). Most recently, however, James Osborne has produced a synchronic history, strongly grounded in both archaeological and textual evidence, aiming to define a cohesive Syro-Anatolian Culture Complex through essays focused on identity formation as a product of diaspora, on the cultural impact of Assyrian imperialism in the region, and on power dynamics expressed through engagements with urban spaces and landscapes (2021), but he also recognizes the persisting need for further diachronic and local approaches to the same materials.

Aubet's foundational work on the Phoenicians combines textual, archaeological, and art historical sources, and acknowledges many of the problems of terminology and identification but finds no solution; her focus is on the economic role of Phoenicians throughout the Mediterranean, mostly outside of the Core Region of this project (2001). Similarly, Quinn's recent contribution problematizes Phoenician identity with most chapters concerned with the second half of the first millennium BCE and the western Mediterranean (2018). A recent geographically centered history provides a *longue durée* summary of the central Levant (i.e., 'Phoenicia'), but the cursory nature of the work makes it of little use here (Elayi 2018). Responding to these previous works, Sader's evaluation of the same region attempts to define the socio-political, economic, cultural, and religious situation of 'Phoenicia' during the Iron Age,

explicitly seeking "to contribute to a more sober view of Phoenician history based on reliable and historical evidence rather than on myths and legends" (2019).

As with political and social histories, the study of ancient religion is often divided by cultural groups based on language use. Some scholars have then identified independent religions by noting differences in panthea between languages or text-internal ascriptions of specific deities or cultic practices to one group or another (e.g., Hutter 2003, on Luwian religion, but also 2021, on Anatolian religion; Niehr 2014, on Aramaean religion; Archi 2013, on the West Hurrian pantheon). Many of these works also reflect the existence of dynastic or ancestor cults among both royal and lesser elite contexts in the core region, an institution with parallels in much of the ancient world, for instance: Assyria (Brown 2010), Anatolia (Bonatz 2007), the Levant (Brown 2009), and the Aegean (Malkin 1987). Other works have drawn connections between religious beliefs and practices and political ideologies, often highlighting the relationship between individual kings or the office of kingship and certain deities or their divine attributes (Winter 1997; Pongratz-Leisten 2015; 2019; Zaia 2018); this approach, in particular, has strongly informed the current project. A combination of local and micro-regional perspectives in the core region of this project will highlight peculiarities, and a micro-historical approach will encourage a deep understanding of diachronic processes of development and innovation within the cultic landscape of the Core Region.

Many of the more archaeologically informed historical works are often divided by modern region, which can be problematic for studying regions that existed upon modern borders, as is the case for the Core Region of this project. For instance, a major work on ancient Syria provides a longue durée history grounded in archaeological research, but it is limited by

ahistorical borders and, at this point, is outdated (Klengel 1992). On the other hand, an important book covering ancient Turkey prioritizes the legacy of the Hittite empire, excluding the Amuq region aside from cursory references, due to a lack of characteristically 'Neo-Hittite' material at the time of publication (Sagona and Zimansky 2009). The major work on the archaeology of Syria avoids this challenge by including relevant sites across the modern border and similarly sidesteps issues of differentiating ethnic identity by defining the Syro-Anatolian region as Luwian-Aramaean, though they do still speak of Phoenicians along the central Levant. However, another problem arises with this work – in only forty pages, an entire millennium of material is discussed, allowing for only the briefest outline of historical events and very little space for considerations of processes and developments at any scale (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003). Thankfully, the border region between modern Syria and Turkey, particularly during the Iron Age, has been the focus of several workshops and resultant edited volumes. Two of these works have produced a variety of archaeological and historical articles covering parts of the Core Region of this project and adjacent areas (Bunnens 2000; Yener 2013).

These macro-historical and often culturally defined approaches to understanding the ancient past of the regions and peoples at the junction of the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia have greatly informed this project. In contrast to many of their goals of presenting historical events in a succinct narrative, this dissertation aims to illustrate and interrogate diachronic processes of development within and between distinct micro-regions to produce a micro-history of the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean.

This project takes a micro-regional approach to the history of the northeast Mediterranean in order to highlight the unique developments of certain limited extents of the Core Region.[14] The micro-regions defined in this space include the northern Levant, Cilicia, and the Bend, all of which are fully defined in the Introduction (Section 1.2.1). While the four micro-regions of this study can be understood as making up a cohesive whole at times, they are each also home to distinct historical realities of their own. These spaces are defined geographically, and thus include multiple, overlapping, or shared boundaries of political and cultic landscapes, and in some areas even include multiple ecologies. The intent behind this approach is to illustrate variations between the institutions and identities of micro-regions, to understand their independent developments, and to determine how they work together within broad regional trends.

Additionally, this project applies a multi-scalar approach. Not only are micro-regions defined throughout the Core Region, but local sites are distinguished among each micro-region, thus providing three analytical scales: local, micro-regional, and macro-regional. Evidence was first collected at the local scale before it was categorized within the micro- and macro-regions, which itself allowed the definition of regional boundaries. For instance, script use across the entire Core Region during the Iron Age appears incredibly diverse; however, when examined at the local and micro-regional levels, this diversity is only found in Cilicia and the Bend, and in both cases, only in the productions of two polities. This multi-scalar approach allows for a finer definition of the boundaries of different communities within the Core Region and encourages an understanding of the evidence from the bottom-up before determining top-down trends. While

[14] This approach follows the seminal work on Mediterranean history constructed by Horden and Purcell (2000).

additional scales, such as the household, would certainly provide further levels of analysis and a greater understanding of different institutions like the family or domestic cults, they have been excluded from this work. In part, this is due to an imbalance of data across the Core Region as a result of inequal excavation and publication, but also a product of the focus of this dissertation, which aims to understand the relation between political and cultic institutions (and their connections to related identities), most of which are formal and enforced from the top down. Analysis of domestic assemblages, then, would certainly be a productive next step to this work, providing access to additional informal institutions within the communities of the Core Region, especially if further evidence comes to light.

Many of the results of this work are empirical and derive from observations made based on the collection, presentation, and comparison of a great quantity of monumental architectural and sculptural evidence, as well as a large corpus of textual sources in several languages. This approach benefits from the novel incorporation of evidence from each micro-region and its evaluation in diachronic perspective. Within the categories of evidence for political and cultic institutions and the group identities associated with them that are featured in this work, i.e., monumental public architecture and public spaces (Sections 4.2 and 5.2), sculptural and inscribed monuments (Sections 4.3 and 5.3), and iconographic and textual data (Sections 4.4-5 and 5.4), I have aimed to be as comprehensive as possible. This has produced a robust set of evidence, particularly in the case of sculptural monuments. It has also enabled a thorough evaluation of diachronic processes of development within each micro-region, as well the geographic trajectories along which these developments took place. Specifically, for instance, the comparison of sacred spaces and especially major temples across the Core Region during the

Late Bronze to Iron Age transition demonstrates distinct processes within the cultic landscape resulting in a complete lack of evidence for cultic institutions in Cilicia and the Bend, while those of the northern Levant persisted, in many cases, mostly unchanged (Section 5.2.4; see also, d'Alfonso and Lovejoy 2023). Likewise, the evaluation of monumental sculptural evidence from the entirety of the Core Region has illustrated institutionalized traditions of royal and elite representations associated with ancestor cults, allowing the definition of distinct, but overlapping communities of practice (Section 5.4.3). While this work is grounded in the theoretical understanding of institutions and identities within individual communities and polities, the conclusions drawn from it are largely the result of empirical inquiry of a diverse range of archaeological, textual, and art historical evidence.

Finally, in this work, an issue of terminology arises. While all thoughtful works must aim to define the terms that they use in the modern understanding of them, this work also tries to understand the ancient conception of several important terms. The palace and the temple will be defined in their respective chapters, but an attempt to understand the Iron Age notion of a (non-architectural) monument is made here. To do so, the Luwian, Phoenician, Aramaic, and Sam'alian lexemes that we interpret as identifying monuments, statues, stelae, and reliefs were collected from their respective corpora of textual sources, and distinctions were compared between the different language contexts. Texts and terms dating from the 12th to 7th centuries were given priority, while later sources were considered only for clarification.

In the Luwian language, a clear distinction was made between a stele (*t/wanid-*)[15] and a statue (*tarud-*).[16] Importantly, no distinct term is known for rock reliefs, and the IVRIZ 1 inscription labels the associated relief of Warpalawa as a statue (*taras*), perhaps indicating that representative rock carvings were understood in the same way as freestanding statues (Giusfredi 2019). A term for orthostats (*kuttassar(i)-*), on the other hand, is only found in the inscriptions of Karkemiš, and no distinction between decorated and undecorated orthostats can be noted.

The terminology in the Northwest Semitic languages is a bit more varied and complex. Early Aramaic sources from the region are lacking any clear definition of different monuments, while Phoenician has several terms for both stelae (*mṣb(t) (skr)*, *mṭn'*) and statues (*mš*, *ṣlm*, *skr(n)*) with some possible overlap.[17] Sam'alian, on the other hand, uses the same term (*nṣb*) for both stelae and statues, with a separate term (*zkr*) serving as a generic term for monuments.[18]

This approach will also be applied to the Iron Age understandings of palatial structures, such as the *bit hilani*, and of cultic structures, like temples, shrines, and open-air sanctuaries. It will become clear that the ancient conceptions of these terms rarely coincide with modern distinctions, and even definitions within different ancient worldviews expressed through different languages rarely accord with each other.

2.2 Key Concepts and Theoretical Framework

[15] *tanid-* is only found in SHEIZAR and MEHARDE in the Iron Age, while *wanid-* appears in the monuments of Maraş and Hama.
[16] However, the broken inscribed statue of Asatiwasu (MARAŞ 14) is defined as a *waniza*, suggesting some flexibility in terminology or misunderstanding by the author of the text.
[17] *mṣb(t) (skr)*: CIS I 59; KAI 34.1, 35.1/2, and 53.1/2; RES 250.1/3; Magnanini 12.1/3 and 10.1/3; *mṭn'*: KAI 48.1; IFPCO 16.1/3; *mš*: KAI 43.1/2; *ṣlm*: CIS I 88.5/6; *skr(n)*: KAI 18.3/6 and 53.1/2; *Lapethos* l. 2/3.
[18] *nṣb* is found in the inscriptions on the statues of Hadad and Panamuwa (Tropper 1993) and on the stele of KTMW (Pardee 2009; Younger 2020), while *zkr* is found once on the Panamuwa statue (Tropper 1993).

2.2.1 Institutions in Complex Society

This dissertation aims to determine in what ways political and cultic institutions interacted with each other during the Iron Age, and how the communities of the Core Region engaged with these institutions in processes of identity making. The definition of the term institution is particularly tricky and even challenged by linguistic differences. This work, in brief, largely follows the definitions used by Douglass North (1990), which distinguish social institutions from the organizations that make use of them, and differentiates formal institutions, which are enforced from the top-down by authorities, from informal institutions, which are produced through shared participation from the bottom-up. These institutions reflect choices made by ancient actors, whether for themselves or for the groups under their control. They provide insight into the Iron Age worldview(s) and the understanding of society at large, and they provided communities of the Core Region with social structures around which to define themselves.

In order to challenge the previous notion that the Early Iron Age was a period of reduced social complexity through the examination of political and cultic institutions and their connections, we must first understand the role of such institutions in social systems. While the term 'society' is used with varying degrees of specificity in the literature of social scientists (e.g., Tönnies 1887, 1957; Giddens 1986: 163-5; Mann 1986: 2, 17; Robertson 1995: 34), it will be used throughout much of this work simply as the largest scale of complex social systems within the project: i.e., the society of the core region/northeast Mediterranean. This will be opposed to various communities that make up this society; and lastly, the most basic level of social groups,

the family/household, is hardly considered to maintain the focus of the work on *political* and *cultic* institutions as opposed to many other *social* institutions.

When we speak of institutions, we inherently speak of social complexity. Political institutions reflect, and are the product of, social stratification. Cultic institutions similarly arise out of social hierarchization, along with ritual elaboration. Both are indicative of organized and specialized activities, often training, of members of a community, and both often result in similar archaeological correlates, such as monumental structures, like temples and palaces, and displays of power and belief (Matthews 2003: 95-96).

Institutions are typically viewed as a requisite component of complex societies, serving to sustain complexity and to bond diverse social groups. "Simply stated, greater complexity means more parts, and more parts will require more effective integration of the whole which accommodates the parts," but increases in size, density, and diversity of parts in a social body (i.e., social groups) can only continue so long as its institutions facilitate integration and cohesion; further growth and complexity requires institutional change or fragmentation of the social body (Service 1962: 180-2). Similarly, Huntington defines social complexity as "the multiplication and diversification of the social forces in societies" (Huntington 1968: 8). For him, a 'simple society' may be founded around informal institutions of ethnicity, religious beliefs, or language, but a more complex and heterogeneous society requires "institutions which have some existence independent of the social forces that gave them birth" in order to create and maintain a community (Huntington 1968: 8-9). Huntington states,

> "In a simple society community is found in the immediate relation of one person to another…In a more complex society, however, community involves the relation of individual men or groups to something apart

> from themselves. The obligation is to some principle, tradition, myth, purpose, or code of behavior that the persons and groups have in common." (Huntington 1968: 10)

Within the scope of this work, the binding institutions may be political ideologies, particular cults, script and language associations, etc. We might also consider the sociopolitical fragmentation of the Early Iron Age as a result of institutional insufficiency within an increasingly complex society. Likewise, the subsequent period of development appears to reflect a process of 'modernization', albeit in the ancient context. In Huntington's words, "Modernization is associated with a marked redistribution of power within the political system: the breakdown of local, religious, ethnic, and other power centers and the centralization of power in the national political institutions" (Huntington 1968: 142). The small kingdoms and communities of the Middle Iron Age northeast Mediterranean were modernizing in the sense that, alongside their increased complexity and diversity of social groups, they were bound by centralized institutional frameworks of power. This is even more valid in the case of Assyrian expansion and provincialization of the region. "By mobilizing new people into new roles modernization leads to a larger and more diversified society which lacks the 'natural' community of the extended family, the village, the clan, or the tribe. Because it is a larger society, whose boundaries are often determined by the accidents of geography and colonialism, the modernizing society is often a 'plural' society encompassing many religious, racial, ethnic, and linguistic groupings" (Huntington 1968: 397). This plurality of society – of identities, scripts-languages, ethnicities, cults, polities – defines the northeast Mediterranean for the duration of the Iron Age, reflecting its changing complexity and demonstrated and sustained by the overlapping institutional frameworks of the various communities of the region.

Thus, to understand society in any given context, we may seek first to understand the composite institutions, the social relationships between groups within the society, and the identities of such groups. In the fields of philosophy and the social sciences, institutions are defined and described in a variety of ways, and the debates over the validity of each position are numerous (Service 1962; Huntington 1968; Mann 1986; North 1990; Smith 2003; Hodgson 2015; cf. Liverani 2014). Reflecting upon the topic, Hodgson states that, "when an academic author uses the word 'institution', he or she should be able to point with adequate lucidity to the class of phenomena to which the term is attached. Absolute precision may be impossible, even if it were desirable. And definitions in the social sciences are likely to have fuzzy boundaries" (Hodgson 2015: 497). In his seminal work, North describes institutions as "the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction…they structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social, or economic. Institutional change shapes the way societies evolve through time and hence is the key to understanding historical change" (North 1990: 3). North distinguishes between the social norms, beliefs, rules, and laws that make up institutions and the organizations that take advantage of the opportunities presented by institutions. Hodgson challenges this separation, insisting that organizations are inherently also institutions, though institutions are not always organizations; he defines institutions as "integrated systems of rules that structure social interactions" (Hodgson 2015: 501-2). Huntington, on the other hand, states that "Institutions are stable, valued, recurring patterns of behavior" and "institutions are the behavioral manifestation of the moral consensus and mutual interest" of a community in a complex society (Huntington 1968: 12, 10). Regarding the driving force behind institutions, schools of thought are generally split between a utility-maximizing view of agency versus one that also includes responses to

rules of duty or morality (for a summary of the debates, see Hodgson 2015, responding to Hindriks and Guala 2014); while a literature review on the subject is beyond the scope of this work, I should note that this work accepts a 'rules account' of institutions and accepts the inclusion of organizations as both institutions themselves and agents of institutions.

Broadly, social institutions create groups of social roles, like the behaviors expected of family members or the rules that govern the political landscape. Huntington emphasizes that institutions promote community among 'social forces', which he defines as "an ethic, religious, territorial, economic, or status group" (Huntington 1968: 8). Lustick claims that institutions "establish frameworks for social action that affect behavior because they affect calculations and inspire attachments" (Lustick 2011: 3). And considering the nature of political landscapes, Smith states that "Institutions—collectivities bound together by shared histories and interests that shape ingrained values and routines—recursively shape their members and, over time, can provide the foundations for governmental stability (or ossification) and transformation" (Smith 2003: 235).

Institutions are mechanisms of social interaction that can be deliberately created or may emerge naturally through said interactions. This process of institutionalization embeds a concept, social role, value, or behavior within an organization, social system, or society as a whole. For Mann, social groups attain power by institutionalizing laws and norms, both in terms of social stratification – his 'distributive power' – and cooperative goals – his 'collective power' (Mann 1986: 6-7). Institutionalization results in stability in the social system and facilitates the reproducibility of social acts (Huntington 1968: 12). In North's conception, "Institutions…determine the opportunities in a society. Organizations are created to take advantage of those opportunities, and, as the organizations evolve, they alter the institutions"

(North 1990: 7). With our understanding that organizations are a part of institutions – not only a separate agent – this suggests that institutions structure the opportunities of a society, capitalize on those opportunities, and develop through a cyclical process of institutional change. Due to the stability that institutions provide to social systems, this change is gradual, consisting of marginal adjustments to social norms, laws, and sanctions. In general, institutions resist change, as formal constraints – laws, rules, and regulations – are set forth by relevant authorities and informal constraints – societal norms, beliefs, and traditions – are habituated through social acts and behavioral patterns, stabilizing the institutional framework and enabling complex exchange across time and space (North 1990: 6, 40, 83, 101).

Institutions come in many forms, both formal and informal, and at various scales. In differentiating formal and informal institutions, North writes, "The difference between informal and formal constraints is one of degree. Envision a continuum from taboos, customs, and traditions at one end to written constitutions at the other. The move, lengthy and uneven, from unwritten traditions and customs to written laws has been unidirectional as we have moved from less to more complex societies and is clearly related to the increasing specialization and division of labor associated with more complex societies" (North 1990: 46). Informal institutions in antiquity can be understood through the material and textual indices of the past produced by individuals or groups of their own volition, i.e., not mandated by a central authority, and as a response to social expectations or customs or regional trends among a social group. These institutions provide greater insight into the social priorities of ancient communities as a whole, as opposed to the formal institutions reinforced by central authorities, which are more indicative of the choices made by the ruling body of a given organization.

Some institutions are considered primary, or meta-institutions, encompassing several other institutions; for instance, the family is a primary institution that includes the institution of marriage, the institutional roles of parents and children, and culturally specific norms for household activities, such as dining and worship. Government is often considered another primary institution; in the ancient world this would include the institution of the palace, kingship, royal ideologies, perhaps the temple or military forces, etc. (North 1990: 44; Smith 2003). Artistic standards may be institutionalized – formally when dictated by an authority or informally when organically consistent. Language (and script) is an institution, typically established by social behavior, but occasionally mandated by authorities. Cult, the economy, military forces, and civil society are all examples of social institutions. In this work, the focus will be on political institutions and cultic institutions, while other social institutions will only be considered in their connection to them.

In Liverani's view, institutions – namely the temple and the palace – were created by the organization of specialized labor in fixed loci and the formation of community decision-making centers, and he defines them as "large architectural *and* organizational complexes" (Liverani 2014: 62; emphasis mine). He defines a temple as "primarily a centre for cultic activities…the house of a deity, where the community performed daily and seasonal (festivals) cults to its symbolic leader." The palace, on the other hand "housed a community's human leader, namely, the king, along with his closest social circle (the royal family and the court)." Both "were centres for administrative and decision-making activities, as well as for the accumulation of surplus" (Liverani 2014: 62-3). What Liverani describes is categorized by social theorists like North under the term *organization*, as opposed to the social norms, beliefs, rules, and laws that

comprise the actual formal institutions behind them. However, when investigating ancient society, the remains of these organizations are often what allows for the analysis of their related institutions – physical remains of organizational structures, monuments reflective of the agents involved, and textual descriptions and pictorial illustrations representative of social practices and beliefs provide our point of access into the institutions adhered to and produced by the people of the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean.

Institutions without a binding organization are often informal, held together by societal norms instead of imposed rules or laws. While these informal institutions are not preserved in the remains of palaces, temples, or the like, they are often reflected by other material and textual indices of ancient practices. For instance, language as a social institution – not only as it is employed by political forces – can be understood through the linguistic choices made by individuals in their personal letters or accounting documents. Specifically for this study, informal funerary traditions that were institutionalized within elite social groups in antiquity are illustrated by monumental sculptures associated with mortuary cults within the Core Region. An analysis of all of these institutions (reflected through their organizations in the case of formal institutions and through other elite productions in the case of informal institutions), provides an understanding of the group identities that formed and were maintained through participation in various social institutions of the Core Region.

2.2.2 Identity

The political identity expressed by various rulers is characterized by the individual or community's participation in or adherence to particular institutions reflective of shared beliefs and practices. Likewise, the identity reflected by cultic communities and their traditions of

worship and association with the divine illustrate the involvement and extent of cultic institutions, both formal and informal. These identities were composed and selectively expressed by the Iron Age individuals and communities of the Core Region in order to connect themselves with their neighbors or distinguish themselves from others to gain what advantage they might.

Identity is a fluid process. In the words of Fredrik Barth, "The same group of people, with unchanged values and ideas, would surely pursue different patterns of life and institutionalize different forms of behaviour when faced with the different opportunities offered in different environments" just as "one ethnic group, spread over a territory with varying ecological circumstances, will exhibit regional diversities of overt institutionalized behaviour which do not reflect differences in cultural orientation" (Barth 1969: 12). To expand upon Barth's definition, one should also consider the effect of different sociopolitical and cultic scenarios upon a given group identity, and likewise discard the specific approach to 'ethnic' identity – or even 'cultural' identity – and consider more broadly 'collective' or 'group' identities. In this work, the aim is to identify and understand various political and cultic community identities within and among the broad cultural identities of the northeast Mediterranean, what James Osborne has termed the Syro-Anatolian Culture Complex, or SACC (Osborne 2021).

In the view of culture-historians, there exists a cultural continuum punctuated by periodical crystallizations of ideational variations with sets of norms and customs characterizing cultural phases (e.g., Kossinna 1911; Childe 1925). Essentialists conceived of cultural identity as fixed and predetermined, and in early works, monolithic groups were examined as collectives without attention to individuals; materially, pots equaled people (Childe 1940; 1950).

Subsequently, processualists defined cultural change as a product of external influence and internal response (Binford 1965: 204; Trigger 1989: 163-174, 294-303). They claimed that social norms and customs often result in distinct institutional forms, which are determined by the specific cultural situation of their emergence and may distinguish certain collective identities, at times centered around these institutions (Barth 1969: 13). Constructivist concepts of identity, in contrast to those of essentialists, built upon individual agency and patterns of behavior and practices, separating material groups from cultural groups, i.e., pots could no longer equal people (Hodder 1989; Jones 1997; Sahlins 1999). Social interactions became central to understanding the construction and negotiation of identity in large part thanks to postcolonial studies (Barth 1969). The relationship between self and other was often the primary characteristic of group identities (Renfrew 1975: 5-6; Renfrew and Cherry 1986), and even now, this dichotomy is central to understanding, for instance, community identity, which necessarily emphasizes what is shared among members and diminishes differences in order to define an 'us' to contrast with a distinct 'them' (Mac Sweeney 2011: 38-39). As Michele Massa has recently reaffirmed, "interaction is what allows the creation of social ties linking human communities together, is the social glue that eases the development of a shared cultural identity" (Massa 2016: 54).

However, advancing two decades in anthropological thought, post-processual theorists emphasized the selection and employment of things and lifeways as identity markers (Hodder 1982) and highlighted the use of identity (and its markers) in sociopolitical relationships (Brumfiel 1994). At the end of the 20th century, identity was once again at the forefront of much archaeological study, especially concerning the identification of cultural groups and ethnicity, or ethnic identity (Jones 1997, with references therein). However, as historians and archaeologists,

it is important "to avoid the trap of artificially creating a bounded and reified monolithic entity that fails to incorporate the subtlety and complexity of the archaeological and historical record" (Osborne 2021: 7-8; also already, Shennan 1989). Material culture may provide evidence for lived experiences of individuals and groups bearing a particular identity, while oral and literary testimonies can provide explicit rationalizations of said evidence, and so any complete study of identity should consider both (Mac Sweeney 2011: 43). In any case, we must discern the specific local meanings and understandings of the materials and concepts that we identify in the record, as well as how they all work together, in order to define distinct group identities (Sewell 1999: 58). In essence, we must understand that collective identity is socially constructed, conceptually bounded, and symbolically coded, and it may involve "the breakdown of traditional cleavages between political camps as well as between class formations, the increase of international migration, [and] the rise of new social movements" (Eisenstadt and Giesen 1995: 72-76).

Collective identities, thus, may extend across traditional boundaries (e.g., topographical or political), sometimes facilitating the construction of communities of practice across great distances. In fact, borders often facilitate identity making, providing individuals and groups with opportunities for interaction and occasions to select different identities to encourage different exchanges and relations (d'Alfonso and Rubinson 2021: 9). In Massa's analysis of Early Bronze Age western Anatolia, he argues "that the increase in social complexity brought about the sharpening of personal and group boundaries, and that the process of identity-building may have been to some extent engineered by central authorities" (Massa 2021: 93).

Identities are also maintained and expressed through chosen outward styles and gestures, which can serve as signals of affiliation (Wobst 1977). For instance, clothing may have played

"an important role in the construction and advertisement of the personal identity of an individual, their social position within a community, and their affiliation to particular groups" (Massa 2021: 106). The choice of group members to produce and reproduce signals and practices over time structures (and is structured by) daily life, a process that Pierre Bourdieu terms *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977). When these habitual lifeways are transmitted from one generation to another, they serve an important role in the process of personal and group identity making (Massa 2021: 106).

Identity construction also consists of interpreting "the meanings of our experience of membership in social communities" (Wenger 1998: 145). Among the many means of self-definition used by social scientists, one that is particularly relevant to our study is the negotiation of local ways of belonging to more universal traditions and of manifesting global styles and discourses. Additionally useful are Wenger's categories of 'negotiated experience', 'community membership', 'learning trajectory', and intersectionality, as well as his inclusion of 'identities of non-participation', which entail the constitution of identities through practices in which we do not engage or beliefs that we reject (Wenger 1998: 149, 164, 172).

For our immediate purposes, we may follow the guidance of James Osborne, who asserts that, "in our urge to identify material and ideational patterns held in common across the Syro-Anatolian city-states, we also acknowledge differences and take seriously the cultural processes lying in those fissures, otherwise all too easy to ignore" (Osborne 2021: 8-9). It is important to understand a given cultural identity, such as Osborne's SACC, as existing in a specific time and place, not extending universally either geographically or chronologically without variation – broad commonalities may envelope and mask distinct regional manifestations and patterns, but

the local should not be ignored for the 'global' trends that they make up. While Osborne (explicitly at 2021: 12) emphasizes a synchronic view of the SACC, distilling the evidence of a few centuries to provide a coherent picture of the society, this work emphasizes the diachronic changes within the polities of the Core Region – a subset of the region home to SACC – illustrating variations between individual rulers and even distinguishing changes in policy or identity expressions during the reign of a single ruler, as well as defining concrete, albeit often overlapping, cultic communities and their development within the same space, and only subsequently applying a synchronic approach to brief periods of the Iron Age – Osborne's "dialectical tacking between both diachronic and synchronic approaches" (2021: 13), but in contrast, prioritizing to a greater degree the former over the latter.

While the making of various identities of the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean served to provide opportunities for community membership or to set one group in opposition to another, individual and community identities often overlapped, making the definition and distinction of group identities a challenging task. For instance, two opposing kings may express distinctly different political identities, but share in practices of self-representation in association with the same divine benefactors, thus illustrating participation in similar cultic communities and reflecting a similar cultic identity, as appears to be the case in 8th century BCE Hiyawa (Section 4.5.4; see also, Lovejoy 2022). This intersection of multiple identities should not be viewed as an exception, but rather the norm. Categories of identity need not be imagined as a concrete package (though they may at times travel as one); instead, they may be chosen, extracted, changed, and implemented in various combinations for the benefit of the agents involved. The Iron Age northeast Mediterranean is no exception, and communities, polities, and individuals

evidently constructed intersectional identities, engaging with particular institutions and social groups, to further their own purposes.

Intersectionality theory – coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989; see also, Crenshaw 2017) in the context of race and gender studies – aims to define the junction between multiple forms of identity, typically referring to race, ethnicity, gender, and class, and the social experience of individuals or groups bearing such a plurality of identities. It was developed in modern social theory as a means of accessing the social reality of individuals with "within-group differences," such as women who are also black or Christians who are also gay, and it is sometimes referred to as an 'intracategorical approach' (Atewologun 2018). In the social sciences, it is typically used as a critical theory aimed at understanding individuals and groups with multiple positionalities at multiple scales, and often in the context of social justice or equity (Dhamoon 2011; Brewer, Conrad, and King 2002). It has received limited attention in the fields of history and archaeology, with some notable exceptions,[19] yet, apparently in all cases, a restrictive definition is applied in which gender and race are the primary intersecting identities, with other social identities receiving only secondary consideration. In large part, this is due to the origin of the field, emerging out of studies of race, class, and gender, and many proponents of intersectionality as a critical theory insist that this focus is what provides novel and comparable information for study (Crenshaw 1989; 2017; Nash 2008; Collins 2015). In this work, however, I propose using the term more inclusively in order to understand the social reality of various groups and

[19] A workshop entitled "Gender, Identity, and Intersectionality in Antiquity" was held at the University of Auckland in 2015; and Edinburgh University Press initiated a series on *Intersectionality in Classical Antiquity* in 2021 aimed at investigating the intersection of gender and sexuality with other social identities like race, ethnicity, class, etc. In 2020, Roland Betancourt produced a monograph entitled *Byzantine Intersectionality: Sexuality, Gender, and Race in the Middle Ages* aimed at providing a history of marginalized identities in the medieval world.

individuals bearing a multitude of identities which certainly produced unique lived experiences through their interactions. While an understanding of the lived experiences of diverse marginalized communities, including those who merge different gender, class, and racial identities, would certainly provide great value to historical studies of the Core Region, this study's focus is restricted to those identities associated with political and cultic institutions, and the evidence engaged does not encourage a diversion into other social identities. Thus, for this work, the intersection of political identities with cultic community identities will be investigated in the final chapter in order to understand the social reality of the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean at multiple scales and across several centuries.

2.2.3 Community

As a means of accessing the various identity-bearing social groups of the core region during the Iron Age, the term community has been adopted. Investigating certain types of communities facilitates the understanding of shared beliefs and practices, which often shape the basis for the making of particular identities (Cohen 1982; 1985; Anderson 1983; Wenger 1998; Yaeger and Canuto 2000; Whittle 2005; Mac Sweeney 2011; Harris 2014; Steidl 2018). In particular, cultic communities – those made up of people whose interactions with the divine are similar in belief and/or practice – illustrate, on the one hand, the ability of communities to extend beyond political and geographic boundaries, and on the other hand, ways in which certain communities can distinguish themselves from others through local particularities. Political communities can be viewed similarly, defined by adherence to certain political norms or bearing a shared notion of kingship and legitimacy. This is, of course, not the only understanding of the

term community in the social sciences, nor even in history and archaeology, and a brief survey of the recent literature on the topic follows here.

A community is neither simply a collective of inhabitants at a single site or settlement, nor a less complex social precursor to society. Rather, the community is a social institution (Anderson 1983; Cohen 1985; cf. Tönnies 1887 and Durkheim 1893). It is "a form of social identity, actively constructed rather than naturally emerging" (Mac Sweeney 2011: 3-4, 30). A community is a group of human and non-human agents who interact regularly at various scales, either directly between one agent of the community and another, or indirectly through shared interactions with similar external bodies. These agents always include humans, but may also include places, things, and shared knowledge, and their interactions contribute to the construction of *habitus*, often reflected in archaeological remains left behind by members of their communities (Bourdieu 1977). Such interactions produce shared understandings and facilitate the transfer of knowledge which provokes the emergence of community identities. And just as people can maintain multiple identities, they can also belong to multiple communities. Communities need not cohabitate, but they typically maintain a mutual awareness and understanding that others share in their beliefs and lifeways. They are characterized by various forms of social cohesion, instigated by factors such as commensality, territoriality, and, most importantly for our purposes, religion (Durkheim 1912; Cohen 1985: 17, 108; Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998: 72-82; Isbell 2000; Pauketat 2000; Yaeger 2000: 129-30; Yaeger and Canuto 2000; Whittle 2005: 66; Harris 2014: 90-92; Steidl 2018: 76-77, 82).

This concept of community brings together several definitions and 'types' of community developed by various social scientists. Sociological scholarship on 'community' often begins

with Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1887), which set traditional, rural, agricultural communities with close personal ties against the mechanical construct of society, which in turn exists only in the mind. However, more recent sociological work, such as that produced by Anthony Cohen, has defined community as a social construct and locus of identity development (1982; 1985). Benedict Anderson, on the other hand, developed the idea of an 'imagined community', a collective identity without a need for direct interaction, rather defined by shared social and cultural practices (1983). This type of community is fluid, changing, and actively modified (Isbell 2000: 249). Similarly, a 'moral community' is one based on shared values, ideals, and concepts, which structure the ways in which people engage with their world (Whittle 2003: 13). In their attempt to define an archaeology of communities, now more than twenty years ago, Canuto and Yaeger categorized these types that focus on the perception of belonging as ideational approaches to community, whereas they defined those that are concerned with the structuring process and structured character of social practices as interactional approaches to community (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 2-3).

Communities of practice, thus, are engendered through a "process of being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing *identities* in relation to these communities," thus emphasizing action, belonging, and understanding (Wenger 1998: 4; *original emphasis*). They are informal institutions that are pervasive in delay life with participation not restricted to those following a set of prescribed rules but defined instead by shared knowledge and understanding gained through experience, doing, being, and belonging (Wenger 1998: 5-7). Communities of practice rely on mutual interaction for their sustained existence (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 7). Practice can produce a shared repertoire (including symbols, stories, concepts,

gestures, words, tools, routines, etc.), which often results in community coherence (Wenger 1998: 82-4). Thus, material assemblages may reflect the extent of communities of practice, demonstrating networks of individuals with shared lifeways and beliefs that shape their various identities (Massa 2021: 106).

Mac Sweeney argues that communities only exist when groups benefit from embracing a collective identity over and above any individual identities (2011: 18). However, others have argued against such anthropocentrism, allowing for community formation through material and conceptual interactions and affects, thus not requiring active identification of a community by its members (Harris 2014: 89; Steidl 2018: 85). Steidl has recently interpreted communities with "an inherently dynamic, symbolically constructed, and historically-contingent nature" (Steidl 2018: 80), mostly building upon the works of Mac Sweeney, Harris, and earlier social scientists.

In defining the community as an analytical unit, a number of scholars have positioned it between the scale of the household and that of the region (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 1; Marcus 2000: 231). For this reason, it appears aptly situated for micro-regional and local studies and for those examining social institutions within and between groups of various scales. Much like identity, community is defined also by the historical context in which it exists, as well as the specific local meanings understood in each context (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 6; also, Hodder 1987; 1990). Communities can determine shared identities, while simultaneously providing a venue for interaction that produces or changes other identities. Since communities are outcomes of social action, they "represent a contextual, contingent, and temporally circumscribed materialization of people's thoughts concerning community identity" (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 7-8).

Responding to a call to specify distinct types of communities, Mac Sweeney (2011: 19-21) focused her attention on geographic communities, i.e., those that are bound by social practice and lived experience, but also by residential proximity and regular direct interactions (as opposed to purely relational communities, lacking cohabitation). She defines the geographical community as "an identity-bearing social group whose conscious sense of collective belonging is rooted in the experience of residential proximity and shared space," and they are focused on conceptually central communal spaces (Mac Sweeney 2011: 32-33). Mac Sweeney argues "that the geographic focus of shared experience is the key distinguishing feature of community identity," as opposed to other types of group identity (2011: 36). However, this emphasis on locality need not extend beyond 'geographic' communities, and an investigation of communities at global, or micro-regional scales necessarily incorporates more elements of the 'imagined' community, while not ignoring the importance of occasional co-presence and direct interaction.

Steidl argues "that the practices and interactions around which communities are articulated are visible in three categories of daily life: shared maintenance practices…shared ritual practices…and shared social experiences" (2018: 4). However, in this project, the concept of 'community' is largely used to investigate cultic communities and their community identities. Since these communities are centered around elite institutions, such as temples, the evidence is, in large part, also elite, and it less often fits into a category of 'daily life' activities. Instead, the evidence – architecture, monuments, and texts – are the culmination of habitual daily activities that are mostly invisible in their more frequent iterations. So, while Steidl focuses on "actions—distinguished from concepts like belief or myth, which inform them—that are routinized or habitual physical expressions of 'logically prior ideas,' and serve ultimately to integrate thought

and actions" (Steidl 2018: 89), this work necessarily examines indices of both routinized actions/institutionalized practices and the beliefs and norms that guide them.

Thus, in this dissertation, communities are not distinguished from societies based on differences in social complexity. Instead, communities are understood as informal institutions centered around social practices, both reflecting and producing group identities through various degrees of co-presence and/or an understanding (real or imagined) of common beliefs, lifeways, and participation in social institutions. In particular, cultic communities are investigated in Chapter 5 in order to understand the relationship between certain cultic institutions, such as temples and particular cults, and group identities formed around them. Likewise, while Chapter 4 defines the political identities of several rulers, dynasties, and polities, one could also understand these as reflections of a political community with its identity expressed by the most influential member, namely the king or at least his court. What these communities have in common, regardless of their type, is their connection to social institutions, which serve as the binding force along with the shared social practices related to them.

2.2.4 Glocalization

This project takes for granted that the Iron Age eastern Mediterranean was an increasingly interconnected and globalized world. With the progressive changes to and deinstitutionalization of metals production, (long-distance) exchange, and learning and literacy (with the introduction of alphabetic scripts), the region became home to certain universal/global cultural trends,[20] albeit with distinct local realizations. While glocalization as a concept could be

[20] See, for instance, the results of Osborne's (2021) work on the Syro-Anatolian polities.

applied to the history and archaeology of the region as a whole, it is here used primarily to understand particular institutions and their association with group identities within the northeast Mediterranean and between each micro-region. For instance, the shared association of kingship with divine legitimacy provided by the Storm God suggests a 'global', or at least macro-regional, institution across the entire Core Region throughout the Iron Age, however, the local hypostases of the institution and its distinct materialization in certain micro-regions at various times illustrates a much more variegated reality at the smaller scale (Sections 4.5 and 5.4.1).

The term 'glocalization' is derived from globalization theory and used to emphasize the local responses to and local iterations of widespread phenomena. However, the 'local' component of globalization has been of key importance to the theory since its inception, and in fact the concepts of 'global' and 'local' are entirely relative (Giddens 1990: 62; Hannerz 1990: 236; Robertson 1995: 32). Roland Robertson asserts that "globalization has involved the reconstruction, in a sense the production, of 'home', 'community' and 'locality'," and that the local should not be seen "as a counterpoint to the global," but rather "as *an aspect* of globalization" (1995: 30); for Robertson, "the concept of globalization has involved the simultaneity and the interpenetration of what are conventionally called the global and the local, or – in more abstract vein – the universal and the particular" (1995: 30). Ulf Hannerz, supporting the same concept, asserts that 'global culture' is in part "constituted by the increasing interconnectedness of many local cultures both large and small (Hannerz 1990), however, communication and interaction do not necessarily result in cultural homogenization (Robertson 1995: 31). Instead, a 'global culture' may be imagined as the product of the spread and adoption of ideas in a given socio-cultural system through specific channels over time, where the more

culturally similar the participating groups, the more likely the adoption or adaptation of a particular innovation (Rogers 2003: 6-19; see also, Massa 2016: 67). Turning specifically to 'glocalization', Robertson uses the term to remove the tension between ideas of globalization and localization, and to emphasize the complementary nature of cultural homogenization and heterogenization (1995: 40).

In the fields of archaeology and ancient history, globalization theory (and, by proxy, glocalization), provides a means of interpreting periods of increased interregional interaction and complex socio-cultural connectivities, alongside the production of widespread 'global' cultures (Jennings 2011; Hodos 2017).[21] While some scholars insist that globalization is a purely modern phenomenon that can only apply at a truly global scale (i.e., encompassing the entire world) (Tomlinson 1999; Robertson 2017), many have found value in understanding similar patterns at smaller scales (e.g., the Mediterranean 'world') through the same rubric (e.g., Sherratt 2003; 2017; van Dommelen 2017). Glocalization, while not always referred to as such, has been effectively applied in archaeological studies for decades. In such studies, this process simultaneously emphasizes a global hybridization and a multitude of local variation, both in the process and the resultant culture (van Dommelen 2006; Silliman 2015). This basic premise can be understood for the Core Region during the Iron Age, for instance, with a large number of monumental expressions of kingship demonstrating intentional participation in a 'global' cultural norm, but with individual rulers and dynasties distinguishing their reigns and their political identities through equally intentional local variations.

[21] See also the recent edited volume by Jonathan Hall and James Osborne (2022) precisely on connectivity in the Iron Age eastern Mediterranean.

2.2.5 Cultural Landscapes

Finally, this study defines several cultural landscapes, here defined in part as physical spaces featuring anthropomorphic modifications to the natural world, such as buildings, monuments, and settlements, but also as conceptual spaces constructed by the human imagination, often engendered by the physical reality (cf. Knappett 2011: 36; Massa 2016: 58). In this work, the focus lies upon political and cultic landscapes. In both cases, these terms are inspired by the seminal work of Adam Smith (2003) in which he explored the constitution of civil authority in his investigation of political landscape. This work does not attempt to apply his theoretical approach or his specific methodology, but adopts a similar conceptual framework and organization, which allows us to interpret changes and continuity in the institutions and identities of the Core Region. To this end, a tripartite organization is applied, distinguishing between the experiential effect of the built environment of sacred and secular spaces, the perceptual impact of monuments with political and cultic content or function, and the imaginative sense of individual political and cultic community identities. This configuration results in a sequence of investigation through architectural remains, monuments, and textual data producing separate accounts of the political and cultic landscapes of the Core Region, and through the application of the micro-regional and multi-scalar frameworks, also among and between the various micro-regions of the northeast Mediterranean world.

3. Historical Background

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the historical background for the following analysis by summarizing the major events and transitions from the end of the Bronze Age to the end of the Middle Iron Age, which accords with the Assyrian provincialization of the Syro-Anatolian polities. This period of history has been the focus of, or included within, other major works (e.g., Bryce 2012; Liverani 2001; van de Mieroop 2016; Osborne 2021), but a targeted micro-history focused on the Core Region and based primarily on textual sources with the support of archaeological evidence will provide the historical context in which the major arguments of the following chapters take place. While the goal of this work is to emphasize the emic perspectives of the historical developments in the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean, it is important to acknowledge that when the region fell under the gaze of foreign empires – the Hittites in the Late Bronze Age and especially the Assyrians in the Middle Iron Age – an imbalance in sources resulted, in large part due to the well-preserved cuneiform archives of these great powers. Thus, in these periods, much of the region's history is constructed from the etic perspective. In this historical summary, an attempt will be made to integrate and balance the Iron Age local sources particularly with the narratives produced in the Assyrian annals. Greater focus will be given to narratives derived from these local sources to highlight the local perception of past events, but a thorough accounting of foreign interests in the region will be included to ensure that all perspectives are considered. Additionally, rather than attempting to fit the data from local sources into the traditional historical accounts that are typically based on the Assyrian sources (Yamada 2000; Younger 2016), I take the reverse approach; Assyrian sources are included

following any contemporaneous local evidence to serve a supporting role, not a dominant one. Finally, this summary aims to treat the Core Region as a single unit, not separating the sources into political groupings but considering the dataset as a whole in rough chronological order. Thus, this is not a history of each polity, but a history of the Core Region, i.e., the northeast Mediterranean. What follows is based on the major reference works for the relevant periods and places, establishing a framework into which additional archaeological data recent textual interpretations were incorporated. For a synchronized chronology of the kingdoms of the Core Region, see Table 1.

3.2 The End of the Late Bronze Age – Collapse and Fragmentation

During the last centuries of the Late Bronze Age, the entirety of the Core Region came under Hittite rule beginning with the conquest of Karkemiš and Aleppo by Great King Suppiluliuma I, during his campaign against Mitanni, and the installation of his sons therein: Piyasilli, king of Karkemiš, and Telipinu, priest and king of Aleppo. Control of north Syria west of the Euphrates led to the Hittite vassalization of the Late Bronze Age kingdoms of the Core Region, specifically Ugarit and Mukiš in the northern Levant. Kizzuwadna in Cilicia had already been made a vassal kingdom during the early 14th century BCE. Hittite control of the region persisted until the dissolution of the empire, ca. 1175 BCE (Trameri 2020: 359-364).

In broad terms, the end of the Late Bronze Age is characterized by a multi-factorial process of political decline throughout the Near East and eastern Mediterranean, including the collapse of the Mycenaean polity, the fragmentation of the Hittite empire, Egyptian decline leading to the Third Intermediate Period, and Assyrian internal strife resulting in a contraction of power and territory (Knapp and Manning 2016 with references therein). Within the Core Region,

this period also includes the fall of Ugarit, the progressive deurbanization and decline of Alalakh, the capital of Mukiš, and the apparent disappearance of the kingdom/Hittite province of Kizzuwadna in Cilicia (Fig. 2).

In the case of Ugarit, the fall of the city is believed to be the result of several key factors. External pressures from the competing powers of Egypt and Hatti strained the smaller kingdom throughout the Late Bronze Age, but seaborne attacks by groups commonly referred to as the 'Sea Peoples' provided a new external impetus for Ugaritic decline during the late 13th and early 12th centuries. Internal stresses arose with issues of drought leading to grain shortages and apparent famine. Ugarit's fall led to a power vacuum in the northern Levant, and the city itself remained abandoned throughout the Iron Age (Singer 1999: 704-733).

Alalakh experienced a long process of urban and political decline following the Hittite conquest of the region. The capital city of Mukiš declined in its occupation until it was mostly abandoned by the mid-13th century BCE, with the exception of the temple of Ištar. Limited, ephemeral, squatting occupation persisted into the 12th century BCE. This process of decline coincided with the eventual refoundation of Tell Tayinat by Early Iron Age populations of diverse cultural backgrounds (Yener 2013; Welton et al. 2019).

After Kizzuwadna was integrated into the Hittite empire, it was soon relegated to the role of province, though it retained much of its regional cultural characteristics. This is evident from the revitalization of Kizzuwadnean cultic traditions in the core of the empire by the Hittite queen Pudu-Heba during the mid-13th century. The political situation in the following century is less clear, but it is certain that any political institution germane to the region was lost by the Early Iron Age, except perhaps at Sirkeli Höyük (Trameri 2020: 467-468).

In contrast to these polities, the major cult site of Aleppo appears to have survived the end of the Late Bronze Age with little change until the late 11th century BCE; however, it clearly fell under the control of a novel political institution with the rise of the kingdom of Palastina.

Lastly, with the decline of the Middle Assyrian empire around the 13th century BCE, the territorial control of Assyria became reduced to the northern Mesopotamian core, especially after the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1047). During the reign of Adad-nerari II (911-891), the Neo-Assyrian empire began a program of expansion, beginning with the reacquisition of lands around the Habur and Balih Rivers, followed by campaigns to the west and east by his successors (Yamada 2000: 68-73). However, new kingdoms emerged at the northeast corner of the Mediterranean during this Assyrian lapse in influence and control, and they played key roles in the history of the region even after Assyrian campaigns reached the Mediterranean once again.

3.3 Early Iron Age – Rump States and Cultic Continuity

The 12th to 10th centuries BCE were previously considered a 'dark age' in much of the eastern Mediterranean due to a lack of historical data with the end of the cuneiform archive at Hattusa and the smaller archives of Ugarit and Emar, as well as a lull in the Assyrian and Egyptian annals. Through recent archaeological excavations and the discovery of new inscriptions, it has become clear that this is not the case. It is now evident that within the vacuum of power left by the fall of the Hittite empire and the apparent withdrawal of the other Late Bronze Age polities, new smaller kingdoms emerged and thrived during this so-called 'dark age'. Some, like Karkemiš, attest to continuity, in this case of the Hittite empire (Simon 2020); others, like the Philistine Pentapolis represent change, as new people and practices entered the southern Levant (Killebrew and Lehmann 2013); while still others, like the kingdom of Palastina

in northern Syria, appear to be a combination of the two, retaining local Syro-Anatolian traditions, while accommodating new Cypro-Aegean elements.

During the Early Iron Age, the political landscape of the wider region changed dramatically. North of the Core Region, Hittite rump-states in Malatya and Karkemiš emerged from the fragmented empire, both attesting to a shared Hittite royal lineage. To the south, Byblos survived the end of the Late Bronze Age relatively unscathed and, along with the other central Levantine (and Cypriot?) city-states, continued to play a major role in maritime trade throughout the Mediterranean. From the east came the Assyrians, who, during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1047), extended their control to the Euphrates River, going so far as to wage war in the vicinity of Karkemiš. It is the communities between these polities that are the focus of this work, and it is only in the northern Levantine micro-region that we can attempt to define its history before the late 10th century BCE. It is important to note that the history of this region during the 12th to 11th century BCE is only known from limited internal sources; Assyrian annals, for instance, only began to mention the region and its polities during the 9th century BCE with the campaigns of Aššurnaṣirpal II (Fig. 3).

3.3.1 Palastina – Hiyawa/Adana – Gurgum (11th – early 9th c. BCE)

The kingdom of Palastina, considered by some to be a rump state – i.e., a remnant of the Hittite empire, vastly reduced in territory – asserted political control over northwest Syria beginning with the region around Aleppo and ‘ayn Dara, followed by the Amuq Plain. While the monumental temples of Aleppo and ‘ayn Dara attest to a resilience of Hittite cultic traditions into the late 11th century BCE, the earliest Iron Age occupation phases of Tell Tayinat, the eventual capital of Palastina, bear evidence for a brief and limited intrusion by immigrants bearing Cypro-

Aegean material culture (Harrison 2009: 171; Welton et al. 2019). Jeffrey Emanuel, echoing Itamar Singer, suggests that this same intrusive population gave the land the name Palastina, "before quickly assimilating into the indigenous population with whom they had coexisted since their arrival." He also posits that this "ethnically-derived toponym" is indicative of a link to the same "Sea Peoples" who settled much of the southern Levant (Emanuel 2015: 23). The Luwian Hieroglyphic textual records supports this; there appears to be a diachronic phonological shift from Palastina, in ALEPPO 6 and 7 – dated to the 11th century BCE based on historical and epigraphic analysis, and supported by ^{14}C analysis (Hawkins 2013: 497; Hawkins 2011: 41; Kohlmeyer 2011: 262), to Walastina, in SHEIZAR, MEHARDE, TELL TAYINAT 1, and ARSUZ 1 and 2 – the first of which are palaeographically dated to later in the same century, perhaps one or two generations after the Aleppo inscriptions (Hawkins 2011: 51; Hawkins 2013: 499-500). The shift from *p* > *w* may suggest an initial fricative *f*, and thus a link to Philistia in the southern Levant (Emanuel 2015: 15; Weeden 2013: 11; Hawkins 2011: 52); however, the final *n* of Palastina, which is missing in all contemporaneous spellings of Philistia/the Philistines from the southern Levant, challenges this equation (Hawkins 2009: 171; Younger 2016: 127-135 with references therein). Additional support for the connection between Palastina and Philistia comes from the widespread distribution of Aegean-style pottery and cylindrical clay loom weights throughout the Levant at this time; this archaeological phenomenon has been seen as indicative of "the 'Philistine' nature" of the kingdom of Palastina (Galil 2014, 79-80), however this type of argument falls too closely to a 'pots equal people' approach. Itamar Singer, *contra* J. David Hawkins, advises against associating Taita I, the presumed founder of Palastina, and his kingdom with the Philistines or "Sea Peoples," citing several Syro-Anatolian royal names of

Palastinean kings as support (Emanuel 2015: 23; Singer 2012: 467-468, esp. n. 77; Hawkins 2013: 493); however, every Palastinean king bearing such a traditional Syro-Anatolian royal name ruled a century or more after Taita I and the emergence of the kingdom of Palastina.

EXCURSUS: The name of the founder, Taita

The names of the kings of Palastina may, in fact, support Harrison's suggestion that the kingdom was in some way a descendant of the Hittite empire. The first royal name of the kingdom of Palastina, Taita, may be a Hurrian name. *Taita* appears to have been a dynastic name, with two individuals by that name appearing as kings of Palastina, and perhaps another, in a shortened form – Toi – appearing as the king of Ḥama(th); Toi and Taita II may, indeed, be one and the same person (Galil 2014: 78-79). This idea comes from an external perspective, that of Israel; the kingdom of Palastina may have been too far-flung to be of relevance to Israel, but Hama, with whom they interacted directly, a site important enough to serve as a royal burial ground and perhaps a royal residence or capital of Palastina (below), may have appeared as the capital in the south and the toponym with which the neighboring king should be associated (Steitler 2010: 93; Weeden 2013: 18; however, see Giusfredi 2018). With that in mind, Charles Steitler suggests that the name Taita was derived from the Hurrian root *taḫḫe,* 'man,' with a final element *-ta,* which is attested in some personal names from Nuzi with an unknown meaning. He also asserts that a change such as *ḫ* > ʿ is a "common phenomenon in the realization of foreign words and names in Western Semitic texts" (Steitler 2010: 85, 95 n. 84). In conjunction with the vocalization of

the king of Ḥamath in Josephus and Codex Vaticanus with an initial vowel *a* and final vowel *i* (Steitler 2010: 84), we can construct the following evolution of the name:

Hurrian *Taḫḫe* > Luwian *Taita* > Hebrew *T'Y* (*Tō'y/Tō'w/Thainos/Thaei*) > Modern reading *Toi*

This equation of Taita of Palastina with Toi of Ḥamath should be attributed to Taita II, in the late 11th century to early 10th century BCE, or perhaps to his yet unknown son, filling the gap in the middle of the 10th century, before the rules of Suppiluliuma I and Halparuntiya I (below). Nonetheless, if Taita is in fact a Hurrian name, which would be an unsurprising onomastic origin within the Hittite empire, and considering the return to common Hittite royal names like Suppiluliuma (I) and Labarna (I) in the 10th and 9th centuries BCE, it is possible that Palastina was founded by a descendant of the Hittite royal line, as is the case at Karkemiš (Emanuel 2015: 15; Harrison 2009: 181). On the other hand, it is equally possible that Taita I assimilated to local customs and legitimized his rule through cultural appropriation in order to smoothly transition into ruling a new people, possibly comprised of both a Syro-Anatolian local population and newly settled immigrants from the Anatolian-Aegean Interface.[22] The 'cult revival' of

[22] Cf. Alexander the Great after defeating Darius III and assuming control of the Persian empire; Alexander took upon himself traditional Babylonian titles, supported temple restorations, participated in Babylonian festivals, enforced obeisance – a custom within the Achaemenid dynasty – among his Graeco-Macedonian subjects, and encouraged his soldiers to marry Persian women in order to meld Macedonian and Persian cultures (Hdt. 1.134.1-3; Plut. Alexander 54.1-2; van der Spek 1987: 58; Dalley and Reyes 1998: 111; Foster and Foster 2009: 147; Grajetski 2011: 71).

> the temple of the Storm God at Aleppo and the renovations at ‘ayn Dara conducted by Taita I may support a connection between the kingdom of Palastina and the former Hittite empire. Emanuel considers Taita’s “incorporation of the Storm God into his public image and the use of the Luwian language and script [as] acts of legitimation that are both appropriate and expected for a Neo-Hittite king” (Emanuel 2015: 17).

The kingdom of Palastina encompassed the former Late Bronze Age kingdoms of Mukiš, Niya, and Nuhašše, which were previously subordinate to Aleppo, and thus the Hittite empire (Emanuel 2015: 14; Harrison 2013: 64). Since we currently have no evidence of 11th century kings of Karkemiš, it is possible that the once powerful seat of post-empire Hittite rule lost its hegemony at this time and fell under the rule of Taita I and the kingdom of Palastina (Galil 2014: 81, 83). The fragmentary inscription ALEPPO 7 may support this possibility; the Luwian text appears to describe Taita I traveling *from within* Karkemiš, perhaps carrying off a divine statue, which would imply conquest of a sort. At the least, the text indicates influence over or interaction with Karkemiš; at the most, it may illustrate control (Hawkins 2011: 53). As Mark Weeden suggests, it also may “indicate hegemony over a supra-regional religious institution, the temple of the Storm God at Aleppo, that different north-Syrian polities all participate in,” as well as “high-level contacts with Egypt,” though not necessarily long-distance trade (Weeden 2013: 17-18). The contemporaneous Luwian inscription ALEPPO 6 is even more clearly indicative of this religious hegemony; the text outlines a political hierarchy, assigning expected sacrifices to individuals of each tier, who visit the temples at Aleppo, from the common man to other kings.[23]

[23] ‘Common man’ may, in fact, refer to low-level officials; see Hawkins (2011: 43) for one interpretation.

The inclusion of other kings is particularly telling, as it implies that Taita I expected other kings to visit his kingdom and make offerings at his temple. These kings may not have been subordinate to Taita I, but the king of Palastina surely controlled one (or more) of the major religious sites in the region.

The two stelae found near Hama, one a funerary stele of Taita II with a reference to the 'Divine Queen of the Land,' the other a funerary stele of Kupapiya, wife of Taita I(?), may indicate the influence of the kingdom of Palastina over this southern region, though it is important to note that the stelae were found out of secure archaeological context (Giusfredi 2018), and perhaps control and inclusion within the kingdom. Gershon Galil suggests that they "may indicate that Taita II made Ḥamath his main administrative center" in the late 11th to early 10th century BCE (Galil 2014: 84), however I find it just as likely that Hama was simply a secondary royal home, possibly *an* administrative center, which served as the royal burial grounds of the kingdom of Palastina. It is also entirely possible that these events happened later in the 10th century BCE or even in the early 9th century (Giusfredi 2018). Alternatively, these relatively movable stelae may have been removed from a more northern original context and transported south in a subsequent period. Between these two centers, east of the Orontes Valley, is Tell Afis, where the mid-11th to 10th centuries BCE are thought to be the phase of monumental architecture on the mound (Venturi 2010: 10, 8 n. 50; Venturi 2020: 19-43), indicating a period of stability at a settlement located between the capital of the kingdom of Palastina and Hama, which may reflect inclusion within the kingdom resulting in security and prosperity. The influence of the kingdom of Palastina appears to have extended even beyond Hama to the south, where three basalt human heads found at Qatna appear similar in iconography and style to the

fragmentary colossal statue of the enthroned king from Tell Tayinat – they present "elegantly carved spiral-like curls arranged in a cap-shaped headdress," as well as similar ears and wide eyes – dated to the mid-9th century BCE (Morandi Bonacossi 2013: 123–24). While these certainly connect an artistic milieu, any assertions regarding Palastinean political control of Qatna can only be speculative; however, the site's proximity to Hama – if Hama was indeed an administrative center for the kingdom – may suggest just that (Morandi Bonacossi 2013: 122).

The period of expansion of the kingdom of Palastina must have lasted only from the beginning of the 11th through the 10th centuries BCE, perhaps with a few expansive excursions taking place in the early 9th century BCE. However, by the mid- to late 10th century BCE, Karkemiš was again an independent kingdom with Great Kings and Country Lords of its own. In the early to mid-9th century BCE, the new Aramaean kingdom of Bit-Agusi took control of Aleppo and the area north and east of it. Galil also suggests that Hama too became its own kingdom during the rule of Taita II, in the late 11th to early 10th century BCE (Galil 2014: 85, 101-103), however, this division may have happened gradually and later. The kingdom of Palastina reached its greatest expanse between the reigns of Taita II(?) and Suppiluliuma I, perhaps extending from Hama in the south to Karkemiš in the north, and from Aleppo in the east to the Mediterranean coast around Arsuz in the west.[24]

Three inscriptions dated to the late 10th to early 9th century BCE seem to indicate that the kingdom continued to thrive during this period, even with the loss of territory possibly as far

[24] The reconstruction of such a vast polity admittedly comes from a maximalist perspective and requires some degree of speculation. Indeed, it is entirely possible that Palastinean control was restricted to the Amuq and the Aleppo region and only exerted (or attempted to exert) limited influence over the regions in its periphery.

north as Karkemiš.[25] Two inscriptions found on stelae at Arsuz on the İskenderun Bay (ARSUZ 1 and 2), likely copies of the same original text, were created by Suppiluliuma I, king of Palastina, in the late 10th to early 9th century BCE. They describe his conquest of the city of Adana and movement toward (perhaps also conquest of) Hiyawa in Cilicia (Galil 2014: 87-88); this is the earliest reference to Hiyawa in this region – a kingdom mentioned in later 9th to 8th century BCE Luwian (as Hiyawa and Adana(wa)), Phoenician (as DNN(YM)), and Assyrian inscriptions (as Que and perhaps Hilakku).[26] The ARSUZ stelae were likely on their way to be set up in these newly defeated lands, perhaps one in each of the named cities/lands,[27] or alternatively, they may have been intended for a local settlement on the İskenderun Bay near Arsuz, perhaps for an urban context like a city gate (Dinçol et al. 2015; cf. Dillo 2016). Suppiluliuma I appears to have intended to assert his control, or at least influence, over land he now considered within his kingdom, or at least to commemorate his victories within his most proximate Palastinean settlement. The deposition of these stelae cannot be explained with any confidence, due to the happenstance discovery at a mound within a Turkish military base and the current lack of access to the site, but from the information available, it does not seem that they arrived at their intended destination.

A fragmentary inscription from Tell Tayinat is dated by stratigraphic context to a monumental building phase of the late 10th to early 9th century BCE (TELL TAYINAT 1). The

[25] The SHEIZAR and MEHARDE stelae may be dated to the same period, and their dating is far from absolute (Giusfredi 2018). Rather than defining a concrete chronological organization of these five monuments, this work considers them as a group with an unknown sequence.
[26] Note, however, two Late Bronze Age letters from the House of Urtenu at Ugarit, which refer to 'Hiyawa-men' (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2005; 2016; Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011; 253-262). On the robust argument pertaining to the connection between the Late Bronze Age Ahhiyawa and the Iron Age Hiyawa, see Gander (2012), Oreshko (2013), Yakubovich (2015a; 2015b), Hawkins (2015), and Bryce (2016) with further references therein.
[27] The two stelae do not agree in their determinatives, thus the ambiguous denomination.

fragmentary state of the text makes interpretation difficult, however a reference to the kingdom of Walastina is clear in fragment 1, and the name Halparuntiya (I) is found later in a separate, non-joining fragment (6); any title associated with Halparuntiya I is lost, but he was likely a king of Palastina (Galil 2014: 86-87). That monumental buildings were being constructed, likely by a king of Palastina, indicates a period of stability. These three texts (TELL TAYINAT 1 and ARSUZ 1 and 2) together indicate both a period of internal success, as seen through monumental architecture, and external success, through the military defeat, and perhaps the acquisition, of Hiyawa and Adana. Additional support for the success of this period may come from the excavations at Qatna; after a three-century hiatus, the settlement was reoccupied in the late 10th to early 9th century BCE (Morandi Bonacossi 2013: 121). This may suggest that this was another expansion of the kingdom of Palastina resulting from the growing importance of Hama as an administrative center, though this is speculative at best. This period, however, appears to be the end of success and expansion in the kingdom of Palastina; what followed was a period of steady decline as the kingdom lost all land outside of the Amuq Plain and fell under the yoke of the Assyrians during the reigns of Aššurnaṣirpal II and his successors, and was henceforth referred to as Patina or Unqi by its Assyrian overlords (Galil 2014: 88-99).

The kingdom of Gurgum also appears to have been founded during the late 11th century BCE, with its earliest preserved inscriptions, commissioned by Larama I, dating to the middle of the 10th century BCE and recounting two earlier generations of rulers in the initial genealogy, his father Muwatalli I and grandfather Astuwaramanza (MARAŞ 8). A late 10th century BCE inscription of Larama's successor and son, Muwizi, records the same genealogy extended to include all four rulers (MARAŞ 17). In both inscriptions, no titles were applied to any

individual; they appear only to have been retroactively applied to these earlier ruling elites of Gurgum by later kings and rulers of the polity.

3.4 Middle Iron Age – New Polities Emerge in the Face of Assyria

From the 9th century BCE onward, the majority of our historical information pertaining to the Core Region comes from Assyrian sources, mainly royal inscriptions and a small number of letters, with sporadic local, emic sources, almost entirely comprising royal inscriptions. For that reason, the Assyrian narrative is used as an historical framework into which local sources are integrated. While this is common to many of the major Near Eastern histories in their sections on the region, it will be important to keep in mind the etic, and inherently differently informed, perspective of the Assyrians during the analytical chapters that follow. Here, the etic and emic sources will be presented neutrally, excepting of course the substantial imbalance between foreign and local information (Fig. 4).

3.4.1 Patina/Unqi – Hiyawa/Que – Sam'al/Yadiya – Gurgum (9th – early 8th c. BCE):

Aššurnaṣirpal II (883-859) (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 60-3)[28] was the first of the Neo-Assyrian kings to reach the Mediterranean Sea and, thus, the first to extract tribute from the kingdom of Patina; while Aššurnaṣirpal II's annals describe a single campaign against the cities of the central Levant and against Karkemiš and Bit-Adini, Shigeo Yamada interprets the seemingly peaceful payment of tribute by Patina, alongside their inclusion in Aššurnaṣirpal II's list of deportees, as indicating "previous military expedition(s)" against the kingdom (Yamada

[28] This account is known as the Annalistic Inscription; the same account, but in abbreviated forms, is known as the Standard Inscription and can be found repeated throughout Aššurnaṣirpal II's Northwest Palace at Nimrud (see RIMA 2, A.0.101.23, and other variants in A.0.101.2, A.0.101.26, A.0.101.28, A.0.101.30 [= Banquet Stele], for a similarly shortened version).

2000: 72-3, 75 with references therein). Specifically, Aššurnaṣirpal II received tribute from the city of Hazazu, and then from Kunulua, the royal city of Lubarna I of Patina, who submitted to him. He also deported military personnel and hostages while at Kunulua (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 71-8). He then took the fortified city Aribua of Patina for himself, and used it as an Assyrian outpost, within which he settled Assyrians and from which he conquered cities of Luhutu (iii 81-2). Upon his return to Assyria, Aššurnaṣirpal II rebuilt Kalhu and settled his deportees there, which included people from Patina (iii 134; also, RIMA 2, A.0.101.30, 35-6 [= Banquet Stele]). And later, when the king began construction of his palace at Kalhu, he invited a great number of people – including envoys from Patina, Hatti, which likely meant Karkemiš but could have included other polities, and Gurgum, among others – for a ten-day celebration, where he honored his many guests (RIMA 2, A.0.101.30, 140b-154 [= Banquet Stele]).[29] Finally, Aššurnaṣirpal II recounted his ascent of Mount Amanus, where he extracted cedar(?) beams, erected his royal image, and interacted in some way with 'the entire land Hatti' – probably referring to conquest or subdual, based on other inscriptions (RIMA 2, A.0.101.33, 5-9).

Šalmaneser III (859-824) continued his father's westward expansion. In his first regnal year, he campaigned to the west, reaching the Mediterranean Sea. During this campaign, he received tribute, including a daughter with dowry, from Mutallu the Gurgumean in one of his cities (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, i 40-41a). He then moved south from Gurgum before he fought a coalition of anti-Assyrian kings – including rulers from Sam'al (named Hayyanu), Patina (Sapalulme), Bit-Adini (Ahunu), and Karkemiš (Sangara) – at Lutibu in Sam'al. The Patinean

[29] Aššurnaṣirpal II depicted many of his campaigns to the west on the bronze bands of the Balawat Gates at Imgur-Enlil, however, none of his epigraphs mention Patina, nor its kings or its cities, explicitly (RIMA 2, A.0.101.51, A.0.101.80-97).

ruler, Sapalulme, was quite likely the same man named in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscribed Suppiluliuma Statue (TELL TAYINAT 4) discovered near Tell Tayinat in 2012. The fact that neither Luwian nor Assyrian sources provide this Suppiluliuma (II) with a title suggests that he may not have been a king of Patina, but rather a lord, who led an anti-Assyrian faction of Patineans. Šalmaneser III erected an inscribed colossal statue of himself at the source of the River Saluara at the foot of the Amanus range (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, i 49-51a). Shortly after, he crossed the Orontes to Alişir/Alimush, the fortified city of Sapalulme the Patinean, and fought another anti-Assyrian coalition, this time composed of men – likely kings and city rulers – from Patina, Bit-Adini, Karkemiš, Sam'al, Que (Kate), Hiluka (Pihirim), Yasbuq (Bur-Anate), and Yahan (Adanu); Šalmaneser III defeated the coalition, captured the city, and carried off booty (RIMA 3, A.0.102.1, 53-74; Yamada 2000: 78-9. Later, while residing in the city of Dabigu, he received tribute from Qalparunda the Unqean, Mutallu the Gurgumean, Hayyanu the Sam'alian, and Aramu the man of Bit-Agusi (92b-95).

In the same year, Šalmaneser III conquered Taya, Hazazu, Nulia, and Butamu, cities of Patina, and deported captives; he then destroyed Urime, a stronghold of Lubarna I of Patina, and set up a stele therein (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, ii 10b-13a; RIMA 3, A.0.102.3, 94b-99; Yamada 2000: 80). The battle that took place at Hazazu is also depicted on a bronze band of the Balawat Gates at Imgur-Enlil, where the epigraph accompanying the illustration clearly reads: "Battle of the city Hazazu" (RIMA 3, A.0.102.67).

During Šalmaneser III's second campaign (857), he received tribute from Qalparunda II of Unqi/Patina, who must have succeeded Lubarna I after the destruction of Urime, along with tribute from a combination of rulers from Karkemiš, Sam'al (here, referred to as Hayyanu Bit-

Gabbari), Kummuh, Gurgum, and (Aramu of) Bit-Agusi, and instituted annual tribute to be delivered to Aššur (RIMA 3, A.0.102.1, 92-5; A.0.102.2, ii 21b-30a [= Kurkh Monolith]).[30] This Qalparunda (II) is likely not the Halparuntiya (I) found in TELL TAYINAT 1, which has been dated archaeologically and palaeographically to the late 10th to early 9th century BCE, but rather a later ruler, perhaps a descendant of the same royal line.[31] In each variant of Šalmaneser III's second campaign, the granting of tribute follows the Assyrian king's conquest of one or two local settlements. Yamada suggests that the kings of the region saw or heard of this destruction, chose not to stand against Assyria, and submitted without resistance (Yamada 2000: 109-10, 118).

During his sixth-year campaign (853), Šalmaneser III received tribute from Qalparunda II the Patinean, Qalparunda the Gurgumean, Aramu the man of Bit-Agusi, and Hayyanu the man of Bit-Gabbari, among others, on his way to make an offering to Adad of Halman (i.e., the Storm God of Aleppo) before heading south to Hamathite controlled land, where he conquered three cities of the kingdom, and waged a battle against a coalition of twelve southern kings at the Hamathite royal city of Qarqar (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, ii 84-102; Yamada 2000: 144).[32] In most variants, the texts do not mention Patina/Unqi explicitly, however, the generic mention of tribute-bearing kings – frequently the 'kings of the land of Hatti' – likely included Qalparunda II of Patina (for example, RIMA 3, A.0.102.8, 14b-15a; RIMA 3, A.0.102.10, ii 16b-17a; Yamada

[30] Qalparunda's payment of tribute is also described on the Throne Base from Fort Šalmaneser, where he is described as an Unqean (RIMA 3, A.0.102.60), generically on a bronze band of the Balawat Gates at Imgur-Enlil, which reads, "Tribute of the Unqeans/Unqites" (RIMA 3, A.0.102.69), and on the Black Obelisk, where he is described as a Patinean (RIMA 3, A.0.102.91). Each of these epigraphs is accompanied by an illustration of the event.

[31] Gershon Galil remarks on the prosperity of Palastina versus the decline of Patina, as well as the opposing relations with the region of Que, to support the existence of two figures with the name Halparuntiya/Qalparunda (2014: 86-8).

[32] Irhuleni and his royal line are known also from the Luwian inscriptions of Hama (Hawkins 2000).

2000: 152-3).[33] Five years later (848), Qalparunda II of Patina appears to remain pro-Assyrian, or at least abstained from conflict with Assyria, and once again provided tribute to Šalmaneser III, during the Assyrian king's conquests in Karkemiš, Bit-Agusi, and Hamath (RIMA 3, A.0.102.6, iii 11b-15; RIMA 3, A.0.102.8, 40b-41a; Yamada 2000: 170).

Throughout Šalmaneser III's reign, he received tribute from two Gurgumean kings, Muwatalli II and Halparuntiya II, both of whom are also known from local inscriptions of the Syro-Anatolian polity, though only one inscription of Halparuntiya remains for us today. Nowhere in his text does he mention Assyria, but rather recounts a conflict with two cities, over both of which he was victorious, exalting himself above his predecessors and securing his position on the Gurgumean throne (MARAŞ 4).

In Šalmaneser III's 20th regnal year (839),[34] he crossed the Amanus Mountains for the first time to invade Que, the land ruled by Kate, an erstwhile opponent from the rebellion in his first regnal year. He conquered the cities of Lusanda, Abarnani, and Kisuatni, along with numerous surrounding towns. He set up inscribed royal images in Kate's main city and in his border city,[35] established his power and might over the land of Que, and extracted tribute from Kate (RIMA 3, A.0.102.10, 24b-34a; Yamada 2000: 198).[36] Šalmaneser III also claims to have mobilized 'all the kings of the land of Hatti' to assist him – something done also by

[33] Also, RIMA 3, A.0.102.14, 58-59a; RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 31b.
[34] 839 BCE = "Eponymy of Šulmu-beli-lamur, [of Arz]uhina, to (city) Que"; for this and following eponyms, see Millard (2014).
[35] He "erected one in the nearest of his cities (and) the second in the farthest of his cities on a cap (jutting) into the sea" (RIMA 3, A.0.102.10, iv 30b-33b).
[36] In a variant, Šalmaneser III abbreviates his conquest of Que, and instead elaborates on the commissioning of a splendid image in alabaster to be erected before Adad, presumably of his royal image, though that is left unsaid (RIMA 3, A.0.102.12, 31b-40). See also, RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 144b-151.

Aššurnaṣirpal II during his Mediterranean campaign (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 56-77; RIMA 3, A.0.102.10, iv 22b-24a).[37]

Shigeo Yamada has proposed that Šalmaneser III found his reason, or perhaps opportunity, for attacking Que in the plea of Kulamuwa, king of Yadiya. In his contemporary Phoenician inscription, Kulamuwa describes his call for Assyrian military aid against the king of the Danunians, who are known to be Hiyawans (= Queans) from the Luwian-Phoenician bilinguals of CİNEKÖY and KARATEPE (Yamada 2000: 199; KAI 24; Younger 1998; Hawkins 2000; Tekoglu et al. 2000).

In his own inscription, Kulamuwa provides his genealogy, including his father Hayya, who had previously interacted with the Assyrian king, and the founder of Yadiya, Gabbar. He also describes a political landscape populated by mighty kings, among which was the powerful king of the Danunians, against whom Kulamuwa hired the Assyrian king. From the same source, we understand that Yadiya, with its capital at Zincirli, had a complex social make-up; Kulamuwa claims to have united two groups, known as the *muškabim* and the *ba'ririm*, perhaps distinguished by ethnicity (Schmitz 2013), language (Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021: 156), or some other social factor.

Šalmaneser III's royal statue from the city of Aššur (RIMA 3, A.0.102.40 [= Yamada's Summary Inscription 19]) contains what Yamada considers an elaboration of the king's defeat of Kate of Que. The inscription adds that Šalmaneser confined Kate to his royal city of Pahri and

[37] Also, RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 143b-144.

Kate subsequently delivered his daughter and her dowry to Kalhu and submitted to him (iii 5b-8; Yamada 2000: 202-3).[38]

Between 833 and 831 BCE,[39] Šalmaneser III led three successive campaigns against Que; in his 26th/27th year he received tribute from all the kings of Hatti, conquered Kate's fortified city of Timur and destroyed countless towns. In his 28th year, Šalmaneser took the fortified city of Tanakun, which belonged to Tulli, likely a vassal of Kate, and extracted booty from it. He then continued to destroy settlements as he moved west to Tarsus, where he installed Kirri, brother of Kate, as king, and received tribute from him (RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 215-226a; Yamada 2000: 218-20). The fate of Kate is unknown, but death or deportation are likely options.

In Šalmaneser III's 30th regnal year (829),[40] his *turtānu,* Dayyan-Aššur, took over campaign duties from the king (RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 228-230a; but see Yamada 2000 for chronology). In 829 BCE, he led a campaign to suppress a rebellion in Patina, where an anti-Assyrian faction had assassinated Lubarna II, their lord, and installed a man named Surri as king. Dayyan-Aššur went directly to Kinalua, set up camp, deposed the rebel king, and set up Sasi, son of Kuruṣṣa, as king. He then extracted tribute and set up a royal image in the temple. Yamada suggests that this was an isolated rebellion, due to the lack of support from surrounding cities and regions, and it was likely put down by the pro-Assyrian faction within Kinalua, upon the

[38] Pahri is also known from KARATEPE and perhaps CİNEKÖY (Phoen. P'R; Luw. *Pa-ha*$_2$*+ra/i-wa/i-ni*$_2$*-zi*(URBS)) (Hawkins 2001: 49, KARATEPE §VII; CİNEKÖY §X); Pahri is likely modern Misis/Yakıpınar (Grk. Mopsouhestia).
[39] 833 BCE = "Eponymy of Yahalu, chamberlain(?), to (land) Que"; 832 BCE = "Eponymy of Ululayu, [of Kili]zi, to (land) Que"; 831 BCE = "Eponymy of Šarru-hattu-ipel, to (land) Que; the Great God went from Der".
[40] 829 BCE = "Eponymy of Hubayu, of …-hi, to (land) Unqi".

arrival of Dayyan-Aššur. Sasi set up a colossal royal statue of Šalmaneser in a temple at the royal city of Kunalua (RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 268-286a; Yamada 2000: 222-3).

The kingdom of Patina/Unqi is not mentioned explicitly in several of Šalmaneser III's westward campaigns, but it was likely included in many of the generic descriptions of tribute-payers. Yamada first suggested this regarding Šalmaneser III's third-year campaign, where the Assyrian king received tribute from "the kings of the coast of the sea and the kings of the Euphrates" (Yamada 2000: 128; Ann. 3, ii 39f). This is likely also the case in his 17th (842),[41] 19th (840),[42] 21st (838),[43] 22nd (837),[44] and 24th (835) regnal campaign.[45] This is supported by the titulary of Šalmaneser III; he is described in one inscription as the "conqueror from the upper sea to the lower sea, the lands Hatti, Luhutu, Damascus, Lebanon, Que, Tabal, (and) Melid" (RIMA 3, A.0.102.25, 9b-12a). The names listed appear to define the geographical limits of 'the land of Hatti', with the exception of its eastern border, which is perhaps Nairi or Assyria itself. Thus, if this is correct, Patina was a part of 'the land of Hatti', but Que was not.

Shortly after Šalmaneser III's final westward campaign (829), internal strife broke out in Assyria, which lasted into the reign of Šamši-Adad V. During this time, the kingdoms west of the Euphrates were without direct Assyrian pressure.

Adad-nerari III (811-783) campaigned to the west on several occasions.[46] While most of his inscriptions that describe campaigns to the west are concerned with the central and southern

[41] RIMA 3, A.0.102.10, 37b-39a; RIMA 3, A.0.102.13, 4b-5a; RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 116-117a.
[42] RIMA 3, A.0.102.10, iv 15b-17a; RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 137b-138a.
[43] RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 152-153a.
[44] RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 162b-163a.
[45] RIMA 3, A.0.102.14, 107b-110a.
[46] 804 BCE = "Eponymy of Ilu-issiya, governor of the land, to (city) Hazazu".

Levant, the inscription on the Pazarcık Stele mentions his battle at Arpad in Bit-Agusi and his boundary administration between Kummuh and Gurgum (Qalparunda, son of Palalam, king of the Gurgumeans; RIMA 3, A.0.104.3, 11-18). Two Gurgumean inscriptions are dated to Adad-nerari's reign, as well, including one commissioned by Halparuntiya III, which preserves a seven-generation genealogy and claims divine legitimacy but makes no mention of Assyria or any other neighboring polity (MARAŞ 1; also İSKENDERUN). This same genealogy is extended by a later Gurgumean inscription of Larama III during the early to mid-8th century BCE, but no further information about the polity in the intervening years is elaborated (MARAŞ 16).

While only preserved in the Eponym Chronicle, Adad-nerari III campaigned to Guzana in his 3rd year (808), and he describes in his 5/6th year campaign (806/5), inscribed upon the Saba'a Stele, that he campaigned to the land Hatti, where he extracted tribute, before marching south to extract booty from Damascus (RIMA 3, A.0.104.6, 11b-20). The Eponym Chronicle also attests to a battle at Hazazu in his 7th year (804); while Hazazu was under the control of Patina/Unqi during the reign of Šalmaneser III, it belonged to Bit-Agusi under the reign of Tiglath-pileser III and may, in fact, have changed hands as early as the reign of Šamši-Adad V (Siddall 2013: 65; RINAP 1: T-P III.43, i 25-ii 7). The inscription upon the Tell al-Rimah stele describes a single year in which Adad-nerari III established regular tribute from the lands of Amurru and Hatti, a large and specific tribute from Damascus, and tribute from Samaria, Tyre, Sidon, and Nairi (RIMA 3, A.0.104.7, 4-12);[47] while the chronology of these events may be conflated – suggested

[47] Another inscription includes Humri/Omri (= Samaria), Edom, and Palastu under the king's control (RIMA 3, A.0.104.12), while the Antakya Stele describes the king's border administration between Bit-Agusi and Hamath (RIMA 3, A.0.104.2).

by the lack of many of these events in other inscriptions of the king – they provide an idea of the geographical extent of Adad-nerari III's interest in the west. Specifically, none of the kingdoms of Patina/Unqi, Sam'al, or Que, nor even Karkemiš, are mentioned at all, besides perhaps their inclusion within 'the lands of Hatti'. However, as these kingdoms are never mentioned in Adad-nerari III's inscriptions, I think it more likely that his 'lands of Hatti' include only those that he expressly administered – i.e., Kummuh, Gurgum, and Bit-Agusi.

While no Assyrian king appears to have reached or concerned themselves with the kingdom of Sam'al during the early 8th century BCE, a statue of Hadad bearing an inscription of Panamuwa I provides some information about the inner workings of the polity at that time (KAI 214). The inscribed statue acts as a funerary monument for the king of Yadiya, who recounts his divine legitimacy and his closeness to a local pantheon consisting of Semitic deities. He also describes improvements to the land and several building activities, including the construction of his burial place apparently alongside temples for the local gods, where his statue was to be erected and where mortuary rituals should take place. Due to the discovery of this statue at Gerçin, not far from Zincirli, the site is interpreted as a Sam'alian cultic site, probably home to at least a temple of Hadad.

3.5 Middle Iron Age – Assyrian Provincialization and the Loss of Autonomy

From the middle of the 8th century onward, textual sources from the Syro-Anatolian polities are limited to those of a single ruler of Sam'al and two rulers of Hiyawa, so even more so than in previous periods the historical narrative must rely upon Assyrian annals. The majority of accounts attest to subservience to the Assyrian empire, and by the beginning of the 7th century

BCE, most of the Core Region was fully annexed into the empire and administered by Assyrian governors.

3.5.1 Patina/Unqi – Hiyawa/Que/Hilakku – Sam'al/Yadiya – Gurgum/Marqas (mid-8th to early 7th c. BCE)

Tiglath-pileser III (745-727),[48] in his royal inscriptions from his palace at Nimrud, mentions a fragmentary account of his defeat of a coalition including Tarhulara of Gurgum along with Sarduri of Urartu and others (RINAP 1: T-P III.9, 35, 47 o 45-50) and later describes the tribute he received from Uriakki (Urikki) of Que, along with that from the kings of Kummuh, Tyre, Karkemiš, Tarhulara of Gurgum, and Damascus (RINAP 1: T-P III.11). On the following slab, Tutammu, king of Unqi, is described as breaking his oath with Assyria, so Tiglath-pileser III captured Kinalia, extracted booty and deportees, and placed his own governor over Unqi (RINAP 1: T-P III.12, and abbreviated in 49). He then annexed the city Hatarikka from Hamath (RINAP 1: T-P III.13, 30), and placed eunuchs as provincial governors over Hatarikka, Gubla, Simirra, and other cities (RINAP 1: T-P III.13, 42). The king claims, in his 8th regnal year, to have settled foreign captives within several cities of Patina/Unqi, including Kunalua, Hazarra, Tae, Tarmanazi, Kulmadara, Hatatirra, and Irgillu. He also received payment from numerous kingdoms of the west, including from Urikki of Que, along with the kings of Kummuh, Damascus, Samaria, Tyre, Byblos, Karkemiš, Hamath, Panammu of the city Sam'al, Tarhulara of the land Gurgum, Melid, Kaska, Tabal, and several others (RINAP 1: T-P III.14-15, 26-27, 32, 35 iii 1-23 [= Iran Stele], 47 o 45-r 15 [= Summary Inscription 7]). It is striking that Patina

[48] 738 BCE = "Eponymy of Adad-belu-ka''in, governor of the land, (city) Kullani conquered".

stood alone against the yoke of Assyria, while seemingly all surrounding kingdoms had acquiesced. In the end, Tiglath-pileser III annexed the territories of Bit-Agusi, Unqi, Hatarikka, and others, effectively beginning the process of Assyrian provincialization in the Syro-Anatolian region (RINAP 1: T-P III. 49 o 24-r 6).[49] And while we only have Assyrian sources for historical information about Patina/Unqi and Gurgum at this time, local texts from Sam'al and Hiyawa supplement this picture.

The subservience of Sam'al under Panamuwa II (Panammu in the Assyrian) is also evident from a local Sam'alian inscription commissioned by his son, Bar-Rākib (KAI 215). Bar-Rākib details his father's ascent to the throne of Yadiya, during which he killed his father Bar-ṣur and seventy kinsmen to bring the polity out of ruin at Hadad's behest. The inscription credits Panamuwa's loyalty to Hadad and to the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III for his kingship and for his preeminence over neighboring kings, and even for the economic gains made in the territory during his reign. Tiglath-pileser III is said also to have given Panamuwa II territories previously held by Gurgum. After Panamuwa II fell in battle fighting alongside the Assyrian king, Tiglath-pileser III is even said to have mourned for him, bringing his body from Damascus to Assyria and setting up a memorial for him. While this relationship may have been a reality, it

[49] Epistolary references to the Core Region dated around the reign of Tiglath-pileser III include letters: to the king from Ululaya in Nimrud, and found in Nimrud, recounting that "emissaries of Commagene, Carc[hem]ish, Ma[r]qasa, Sam'al, Ashdod, and Moab have come, but they have passed through Til-Barsip and Guzana without my permission" (SAA 19, 8 9-15); to the king from Qurdi-Aššur-lamur in Simirra, found in Nimrud, referencing something/one from Tabal and Que (SAA 19, 27 3-5); from an unknown sender probably to the king describing horses, horse trainers, and captives from Que (fragmentary; SAA 19, 46); from Aššur-ila'i to the king recounting economic information on the town of Bar-Uri (URU.^{m}*bar-u-ri*) from Bur-il, a deserter from Gubla (SAA 19, 48 9-14); from Inurta-ila'i in Naṣibina to the king regarding an interpreter and emissaries from Que spending a night in Kar-Šalmaneser on their way to the palace to see the king (SAA 19, 54); from Inurta-ila'i in Naṣibina to the king regarding the transport of booty and referencing a Tutammu (of Patina/Unqi?) and his eunuchs (SAA 19, 55); from Nergal-uballit in Arzuhina to the king, briefly referencing having been transferred to Que in the past (SAA 19, 89 21); describing transport of horses from Calneh/Kullania (fragmentary; SAA 19, 96).

is important to note that the claims made belong to his son Bar-Rākib, and not Panamuwa II himself, and Bar-Rākib emphasized his loyalty to Tiglath-pileser III in equal position to the gods in each of his lengthier royal inscriptions where context is preserved (KAI 216-221).

A similar pro-Assyrian position is evident in the first local royal inscriptions of Hiyawa commissioned by Awarika in Luwian and Phoenician. In one inscription the Hiyawan king credits Tiglath-pileser III with granting him a parcel of land, which seems to have belonged to Gurgum previously (İNCİRLİ; Kaufmann 2007; Na'aman 2019), and in another he states that the Assyrian king was made father and mother to him, and that Hiyawa and Assyria was made into one house, most likely implying a vassal relationship to the greater power (CİNEKÖY; Tekoğlu et al. 2001).[50] Besides these claims of cooperation, Awarika also emphasized his descent from the house of Mopsos/Muksas and his divine legitimacy. He also claims to have improved Hiyawa, built up its troops, and fortified its land. These same sentiments are expanded upon by a Azatiwada, a likely subsequent ruler known only from his Phoenician and Luwian inscriptions at the fortress of Karatepe (KARATEPE; Younger 1998; Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000), however, in his inscriptions, there is no mention of Assyria, whatsoever. Instead, Azatiwada claims the support of Awarika and the gods, stating in a parallel construct that the Storm God made him father and mother to Adanawa/the Danunians. Azatiwada also claims that his improvements of Hiyawa, including the construction of his city and the erection of his monuments, were also for the benefit of the house of Mopsos/Muksas, suggesting some sort of dynastic continuity, though not necessarily common descent. While there are debates regarding the relative chronology of these two rulers – Awarika and Azatiwada – this historical narrative follows the traditional

[50] See also the Hasan-Beyli inscription for further support, albeit fragmentary (Lemaire 1983).

dating in which a single Awarika ruled during the mid to late 8th century BCE, and Azatiwada followed (perhaps overlapping), ruling some part of Hiyawa during the late 8th to early 7th century BCE (Hawkins 2000: 44-45; 2009: 165; Bryce 2012: 159; Gander 2012: 293-296; however, cf. Novák 2010: 406; Simon 2014a; Yakubovich 2015: 42; Novák and Fuchs 2021).

Sargon II (722-705) completed several campaigns to the west, paying particular attention to the kingdoms of Mušku, Tabal, Hilakku, and Que. In his annals, he claims to have chased the Ionians, who had previously killed inhabitants of Tyre and Que, into the sea, caught them, and felled them with his weapon. He continues, saying that he captured and plundered three cities of Que – Harrua, Ušnanis, and Qumasi – which had been taken by Mita, king of Mušku (Ann.118-120 and S4.34-5 in Fuchs 1994: 109-110).[51] Shortly thereafter, in his 7th regnal year (715), Sargon mentions a second battle with Mita, in his own land, after which he returned two fortified cities of Que – Harrua and Ušnanis – to their place (Ann.125-6; Ann.101; RINAP 2.1, 125b-126; 166, v 34-40).[52] In his 9th regnal year (713), Sargon campaigned to Hilakku and into central Anatolia. He conquered Tabal, Bit-Purutaš, and Hilakku (Stier.22), and deported people from Kaska, Tabal, and Hilakku (XIV.16; Threshold Inscription S4.35-8). Afterwards, he set a loyal vassal upon the throne of Hilakku and settled deportees in the kingdom (Ann.202-3; Ann.165; RINAP 2.1, 201-204a; 2, 230b-235; briefly, 8, 16). On a colossal bull statue, Sargon describes the political situation of these events; "Amris of Tabal, whom I caused to sit upon the throne of

[51] Could the Ionians and Mita of Mušku been allied or connected in some way, at least in the view of Sargon II? Their subsequent and immediately sequential descriptions give the sense of a single conflict (RINAP 2.1, 117b-120a).

[52] Sargon II's repulsion of Mita is also supported by his titulary in the inscription on a colossal bull statue, which reads "(Sargon,) the one who drove away Mita, king of Mušku, who had taken fortresses of Que captive" (Stier.24). The narrative he describes is framed similarly to the Hiyawan accounts of founding fortresses and expanding the land (RINAP 2.76, 15b-16; CİNEKÖY; KARATEPE).

Hulli, his father, I gave him my daughter and the Land of Hilakku – territory not of his fathers – (and) extended his land" (Prunk.30 =RINAP 2.7, 29b-32; supported by Ann.197-8; RINAP 2.1, 194b-198a; 2, 226b-230a).[53]

In Sargon II's 11th regnal year, the Assyrian king claims to have reorganized the people of the land of Gurgum and appointed a provincial governor. He also describes the patricide of Tarhulara of Gurgum by his son Mutallu, who the Assyrian king subsequently defeated after marching against the city Marqasa and took him as hostage along with the (royal) family of the land Bit-Pa'alla (RINAP 2.1, 248; 2.2, 267b-273a; 2.3, 1-6a; 2.7, 83b-89). In an abbreviated account, Sargon claims that he "did away with the kingship of Tarhulara of the city Marqasa (and) at the sa[me time] made the wide land Gurgu[m], to (its) full extent, (part of) the terr[itory of Assy]ria," which apparently confuses the situation with the longer accounts (RINAP 2.8, 10b-11a; 2.9, 26-27; 2.74, v 41-75; 2.76, 26-27; also 2.82, vii 10-15 [=Sm 2049 ii]).

One fragment of Sargon II's 711 BCE Annals (K.8536 = VI.d in Fuchs 1998) describes the theft of Que alongside the plundering of another land; this text is extremely fragmentary, but if Fuchs is correct in placing this fragment in the context of his Ann.200 and Prunk.31 (Fuchs 1994: 42 n. 130), then perhaps Sargon is here settling deportees in the lands that he had previously restored in Que at roughly the same time as he was doing so in Hilakku. Later in Sargon's reign, during his 13th regnal year (709), Que appears to be quite loyal to the Assyrian king. While Sargon defeated the Land of Bit-Yakin and all the Aramaeans, and made his weapons bitter in the Land of Yadburu on the border of Elam, his "eunuch, the governor of Que,

[53] Events also described on the prisms RINAP 2.74, v 13-33 and RINAP 2.112, 5-11.

who went to draw (weapons) against Mita the Muškean three times in his own territory, demolished his cities, destroyed them, burned them down with fire, and carried off great weight (i.e. booty)" (Prunk.150; supported by Ann.385-6; Ann.329; RINAP 2.1, 444b-452a; 2, 428-432a; 7, 149b-153a). While this allegiance accords quite well with the evidence found in the CİNEKÖY inscription, it probably more likely describes an Assyrian governor of some power/importance, perhaps serving alongside the Hiyawan king.

Assyrian administration in the Core Region is evident from a variety of sources. Assyrian officials at Sam'al are known from a royal inscription and an administrative text (RINAP 2.82, vi 1-10 [=K 1672 i]; SAA 7.136, r i 9),[54] while several letters provide information about the workings of Assyrian governors at Que. One letter between the Assyrian governor of Que and Sargon himself describes the arrival of Midas of Phrygia with fourteen men of Que, who had been sent by Urik as an embassy to Urartu (SAA 1, 1 [=SAA 19, 152]). Another letter between the same individuals recounts the building of a temple/shrine (what term?) by a river and the installation of a goddess by the king's orders (SAA 1, 251).[55] Assyrian expressions of power from the reign of Sargon II are known from across the Core Region with his commemorative stelae set up at several locations including Tell Tayinat (RINAP 2.108), Tell Acharneh (RINAP

[54] Other administrative texts with references to the Core Region dating to the reign of Sargon II include accounting and sales records in: Sam'al, Kulnia/Calneh, Que, and Hatarakka (SAA 7 116), Sam'al, Kullania, and Hatarikka (SAA 11 6), Şilli-šarri serving Kunalia, Bel-Harran-iššiya serving Sam'al (CTN 3 86); Sam'al (VA S 03566a).
[55] Other epistolary references to the Core Region dated around the reign of Sargon II include letters: from Marduk-remanni regarding a festival and building project, including a reference to emissaries, of which one was from Que (SAA 1, 110 [=SAA 19, 159); to Sargon from Bel-duri regarding the return of runaway servants including a baker installed at Hatarikka (SAA 1, 171 [=SAA 19, 171]); referencing the 'Land beyond the River' (SAA 1, 204); referencing something/one of Marqasa (SAA 1, 253); regarding settling deportees in Marqasa, coming from the city of Si'imme through Guzana (SAA 1, 257); from Qizalayu to the king with a possible reference to Sam'al (SAA 19, 206 r 3).

2.106), Kition (Cyprus; RINAP 2.103),[56] and supposedly at Hama and Tell Afis (2.106, iii 3-9a), among other places (e.g., RINAP 2.105).

Sennacherib (705-681)[57] claims to have deported people of Chaldea and Mannea, as well as from Que and Hilakku, who had not submitted to his yoke, to have them construct his palace in Niniveh (RINAP 3/1.1, 70-2; RINAP 3/1.3, 41-3). After his famed third campaign in which he sacked Jerusalem, Sennacherib added deportees from Philistia and Tyre to this list of workmen – 'conquered enemy men', *bahūlāti nakiri kišitti* (RINAP 3/1.4, 68-70).[58] In 696 BCE, the city ruler of Illubru, a man named Kirua, incited rebellion among the population of Hilakku, particularly in the cities Ingira and Tarzi. Sennacherib sent troops to put down the rebellion; they conquered and plundered the two offending cities, besieged and captured Illubru, and returned to Niniveh with booty and Kirua, whom Sennacherib flayed. The king, then, reorganized Illubru, settled deportees, and erected an alabaster stele therein (RINAP 3/1.17, iv 61-91). It is clear that Sargon II's control over Que and Hilakku did not persist throughout the reign of his successor; Sargon II spent his reign freeing Quean settlements and administering both Que and Hilakku, whereas Sennacherib seems only to have conquered the settlements of the two kingdoms and deported their people. Nowhere does Sennacherib mention the cities or polities of the Amuq, nor around Sam'al or Gurgum/Maraş in his royal inscriptions, however, evidence of Assyrian administration in the provinces is abundant, including references to governors of Marqasu,

[56] Sargon also describes seven kings of Ya', a region of the land Yadnana (Cyprus), providing booty (RINAP 2.7, 145b-149a).
[57] 689 BCE = "Eponymy of Gahilu, governor of the city Hatarikka"; 685 BCE = "Eponymy of Aššur-da''inanni, of Que"; 684 BCE = "Eponymy of Manzerne, governor of Kullania"; 682 BCE = "Eponymy of Nabu-šarru-uṣur of Marqasa"; 681 BCE = "Nabu-ahu-ereš, governor of Sam'al".
[58] See also, RINAP 3/1.3, v 39b-47a; RINAP 3/1.16, v 62-70; and RINAP 3/1.17, v 48-56a.

Kullania, Sam'al, Que, and Hatarikka,[59] mostly in concluding eponyms on a variety of sales documents.[60]

Esarhaddon (681-669) completed multiple campaigns to the west – at least once to Hilakku, perhaps including Que, and multiple times to the central and southern Levant. Most notably, Esarhaddon describes a rebellion that involved Sanduarri, who may be Azatiwada of the KARATEPE inscriptions (Winter 1979: 145-149; Hawkins 1979: 156-157).[61] Sanduarri, king of the cities Kundi and Sissu, allied with Abdi-Milkuti, king of Sidon, against Esarhaddon, who then caught him among the mountains and beheaded him.[62] The Assyrian king pillaged and destroyed 21 fortified cities and surrounding small towns in Hilakku, and imposed his rule upon the rest (RINAP 4.1, iii 20-31, 47-55; RINAP 4.2, i 38-56, ii 5-15).[63] In the text from a tablet found at Niniveh, Esarhaddon describes the kings of Yadnana (Cyprus), Ionia, and Tarsus as subservient, providing tribute willingly (RINAP 4.60, o 9b-11a). While Esarhaddon's conquest of Sidon is prominent enough to warrant inclusion in his titulary of many of his royal inscriptions, the involvement of Sanduarri is always omitted in this context; his conquest of Hilakku, however, is also frequently included in his titulary (see, for instance, RINAP 4.78, RINAP 4.79, RINAP 4.93). This may, in fact, be a conflation of Esarhaddon's campaigns to Hilakku, prioritizing the geographical significance over the chronology, and thus eliding Sanduarri's involvement into the conquest of Hilakku.

[59] Nabu-šarru-uṣur, governor of Marqasu (Marqasu 27; SAA 6, 45, 75-77, 98, 187-192, 197); Manzarne, governor Kullania (SAA 6, 43-4, 59, 73-74, 177); Nabu-ahu-ereš, governor of Sam'al (SAA 6, 46, 47, 91, 110, 193-196); Gihilu, governor of Hatarikka (SAA 6, 149); Aššur-da"inanni, governor of Que (SAA 6, 71, 72, 170, 171, 173-175).
[60] Other administrative texts from the region without preserved eponyms: Marqasu 01, 02, 26, 42.
[61] However, see Simon (2014a: 97-98).
[62] Esarhaddon had already caught Abdi-Milkuti 'from the midst of the sea' and beheaded him, following his flight from Sidon (RINAP 4.1, ii 71-74, iii 32-34).
[63] Prisms dated to 673 and 676 BCE, respectively; see also RINAP 4.3.

Nowhere in Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions does he mention the kingdoms Que or, more notably and more proximate to the Assyrian heartland, Patina/Unqi, Sam'al or Gurgum. However, evidence from administrative and epistolary texts provides some information about Assyrian administration in the Core Region, including references to individual provincial governors and a variety of transactions.[64] Esarhaddon's Vassal Treaty from Tell Tayinat, however, demonstrates Assyria's involvement in the province and the king's relationship with the governor and other officials under Esarhaddon's rule. Additionally, the victory stele found at Zincirli recounts Esarhaddon's campaign against the king of Sidon and Sanduarri but doesn't mention Sam'al (RINAP 4.98). It is also interesting, that in the one inscription where Esarhaddon enumerates the 'kings of Hatti and (those) across the river (i.e., the Euphrates)', from whom he demanded raw materials for his palace at Niniveh, he only lists kings from the central and southern Levant and from Cyprus – none from the north (RINAP 4.1, v 54-73b). At this point, the phrase 'the kings of Hatti' appears simply to indicate western kingdoms, whether Levantine, Anatolian, or north Syrian. It is similarly possible that the Assyrian concepts of Que and Hilakku had merged during Esarhaddon's rule, and that his campaigns to Hilakku were also to Que.

Like Esarhaddon, Aššurbanipal (669-631/627) does not mention Patina/Unqi, Sam'al, Gurgum, or Que,[65] while his interest in the west is evident from his royal inscriptions.[66]

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[64] Mentioning various officials: SAA 6, 257-264; SAA 16, 63 r 9-11, 71. Mentioning transactions: VA S 03566; Marqasu 15, 17, 28, 29.

[65] However, all except Gurgum are found in lexical lists of Assyrian provinces under the names Kullani(a), Hatarikka, Sam'al, and Que (SAA 11, 1, 5, and 6).

[66] 655 BCE = "Eponymy of Awianu, governor of the land Que" (also in RINAP 5.61, r 24-5); 647/645/642 BCE = "Eponymy of Nabu-da''inanni of Que" (Falkner/Reade/Parpola); 636/631/627 BCE = "Eponymy of Marduk-šarru-uṣur of Que" (Falkner/Reade/Parpola); these last two fall outside of the canonical list and their absolute dates are not yet agreed upon.

Aššurbanipal claims that, during his third campaign – against Tyre – Sanda-šarme, king of Hilakku, along with the kings of Tabal and Arwad, submitted to Assyrian rule during his reign (RINAP 5.3, ii 63-69; RINAP 5.4, ii 34-44).[67] He also describes interactions with Gyges, king of Lydia, in western Anatolia (e.g. RINAP 5.3, ii 86b-91; RINAP 5.4, ii 61-66; RINAP 5.11, ii 95-102). Several administrative texts also provide further information regarding Assyrian building activities and transactions in the Core Region (SAA 11, 15 ii 9, iii 15; 19 r 4; 21 8; 34; 59; 80 r 4-9; 136 i 6; 167; 170).

3.6 Summary

Palastina/Patina/Unqi was ruled continuously from the 11th century through at least the late 8th century BCE. The kingdom emerged in the vacuum of power left in the region after the Late Bronze Age and was ruled by what appear to be local Syro-Anatolian elites. The kingdom seems to have been centered around the temples of Aleppo and ʻayn Dara in the earliest phase (d'Alfonso and Lovejoy 2023), and only shifted its center of power to the Amuq around the late 10th to early 9th century BCE. The order of the first kings, particularly those of the 10th and early 9th century BCE, is not yet certain, and may be adjusted to admit further evidence later; similarly, the final rulers, from the early 8th century BCE onwards, also require more evidence in order to refine them and complete the chronology.

Gurgum/Marqas appears to have been ruled for a similar period, and in the more northern kingdom, we have a relatively secure chronology from the robust genealogical sequences

[67] See also, RINAP 5.6; RINAP 5.8; RINAP 5.9; and variants in RINAP 5.11, ii 75-80; RINAP 5.23, 85.

included in their royal inscriptions. From the early 8th century BCE, information is sparse and only comes from the Assyrian sources.

Yadiya/Sam'al emerged slightly later, only in the (late?) 10th century BCE, with the first reference appearing in Assyrian sources of the early to mid-9th century and in local royal sources in the mid- to late 9th century BCE (Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021). There is much debate over the reality of many of the rulers without their own inscriptions, or at least the reality of their rule, largely due to the extremely small number of references to them.

Hiyawa/Que may have existed as a polity already in the 10th to early 9th century BCE, when it is mentioned in a Palastinean inscription (ARSUZ 1 and 2), but no information about rulers is known until the reign of the Assyrian king Šalmaneser III in the mid-9th century BCE. The early 8th century, as with Palastina and Gurgum, is a mystery; however, the first local sources for the Cilician political situation emerge soon after in the mid- to late 8th century BCE, perhaps extending into the early 7th century BCE (Lovejoy 2022).

4. Political Landscape

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a modified version of Adam Smith's (2003) 'political landscape' will be employed as a conceptual framework through which we can interpret changes and continuity in the institutions at the cores of the polities in the Core Region. Following Smith, a tripartite organization will be used, which distinguishes between the experiential effect of the built environment of palatial and administrative spaces, the perceptual impact of monuments with political function in a variety of lived spaces, and the imaginative sense of political identity influenced by expressions of kingship and royal ideologies, and by iterations of factionalism reflecting political diversity within polities. However, while Smith explored the constitution of civil authority in his investigation of political landscape, this chapter aims to understand the intersection between local and regional political institutions and their development through time and space in order to define political communities and identities across the region. For this purpose, the institution of the palace and its associated administrative structures, technologies, and organizations will be investigated in each region to identify trends in architectural and administrative practices associated with political rule, particularly noting processes of change and resilience, through an analysis of monumental architecture connected to governance (Section 4.2). An examination of sculptural and often inscription-bearing monuments, including statues, stelae, rock reliefs, and relief orthostats will try to uncover political content or political purposes intended by those who created or commissioned them (Section 4.3), with the goal of illustrating the making and expressions of individual political identities, the prioritization of specific royal ideologies by various rulers, and, with the support of etic Assyrian textual sources, instances of

factionalism evident within each local polity (Section 4.4). Lastly, distinct institutions of kingship will be defined for each polity, reconstructing the development of the institution over time and, at times, across political borders, and distinguishing similarities and peculiarities between polities and individual reigns (Section 4.5).

The political landscape of the Core Region was constantly evolving, generally fragmented, and frequently influenced by outside forces. Each polity within the region produced its own institution of kingship, composed of unique sets of customs, which adhered to different principles of tradition and innovative localism. Individual rulers chose political identities to express through their monumental productions, proliferating the institutions of their predecessors or differentiating themselves from kings, past and present, occasionally inspiring processes of institutional change with new traditions adopted by their successors.

4.2 Monumental Architecture: Governmental and Administrative Structures and Associated Technologies

In the following section, architecture associated with political institutions of governance and administration will be examined to understand processes of institutional change and continuity reflected in the experiential effect that the built environment has on the political landscape. The primary data for this analysis are the physical structures that house seats of authority, such as royal residences (i.e., palaces) and audience halls, administrative complexes including spaces for textual archives, large-scale storage, and/or public production activities, and the technologies that suggest such functions, like seals and sealings, texts of a political or administrative nature, and prestige goods and monuments associated with authority (e.g., thrones, implements of rule, architectural reliefs, and portal figures).

Identifying a building or room's function is not a straightforward task and, in many cases, may be impossible. Determining a space within a monumental architectural complex as a dwelling, for instance, is extremely difficult, requiring evidence of daily life, food consumption, and/or sleeping, which is often ephemeral and movable. Since a palace is typically defined as the dwelling of a ruler or a royal residence, this makes its identification in the archaeological record rather challenging. For this reason, the representative function of a 'palace' will be prioritized, as the conveyance of an image of power through architectural form may be more apparent (Osborne 2012). Thus, in this study, the term 'palace' will be used to define a monumental building that represented the secular power of a polity, often housing spaces for reception of audiences, rooms with administrative functions, and possibly the dwelling space of the ruler and his family. Additionally, in many cases, structures can be identified as clearly non-domestic, but more precise functional determinations are not possible; these will be included here as potential evidence, but explicitly labeled as questionable (Pucci 2008: esp. 11-13).

The identification of a palace in textual sources is similarly challenging. In local NW Semitic scripts (i.e., Phoenician, Aramaic, and Sam'alian), a palace is simply defined as a house (*byt*), occasionally of a specific ruler (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: 156-163; refer also to the CAL database). On the other hand, in Luwian, the term (PORTA)*hilan(a)*- is typically interpreted as a palace or gate (Aro 2003: 302-303), but in no use case does it seem to represent a royal residence. Additionally, the Luwian word (DOMUS)*parn(a)*-, which translates to 'house', does not appear to have been used to refer to a palace in any known inscription. So, while the palace may have been conceived in Semitic contexts as the house of the king – a royal residence, as in the modern understanding – it appears that it was something entirely different in the mind

of Anatolian populations. The Luwian term only appears definitively in seven or eight inscriptions,[68] however, from these sources, we may imagine an early use of the term describing at Karkemiš the monumentalized Lower Palace area with its gate and also the stairs leading to the citadel, and then a later use of the term at Karatepe describing the monumental gate complexes, perhaps the citadel as a whole. In any case, none of the instances clearly define a single structure that is obviously a "palace," but rather maybe a "monumental entrance/space." This stands in contrast with the Assyrian definition of the term.

In the Assyrian use, the *bit hilani* seems to be built in addition to the palace, most often in front of the gates of the palace (complex?). For instance, Sargon II built a palace (É.GAL), installed doors (GIŠ.IG.MEŠ) in its entrances (*nerebšin*), and then built a portico (É *appati*) in front of their gates (*mehret babišin*).[69] Thus, it seems that the doors are in the proper entrance to the palace, while the *bit appati* (= *bit hilani*) is part of the citadel gates. From the evidence at hand, it appears that Tiglath-pileser III first defined the *bit hilani* in the Assyrian context as a replica of a Hittite palace (*tam-šil* É.GAL KUR.*ḫa-at-ti*), and the phrase was copied through the reign of Sennacherib.[70] Sargon II and Sennacherib added the phrase *bit appati*, understood as a "(windowed) portico," along with a clause stating that it was called a *bit hilani* in the language of the land of Amurru.[71] And Aššurbanipal dropped the references to Hatti, Amurru, and even the *bit appati,* when he described the reconstruction of his *bit riduti,* though he used a similar

[68] KARAHÖYÜK (Hawkins 2000: 288-295); MARAŞ 8 (Hawkins 2000: 252-255); KARKAMIŠ A11a (Hawkins 2000: 94-100), A11b+c (Hawkins 2000: 101-108), A14b (Hawkins 2000: 83-87); KARATEPE 1, 4 (Younger 1998; Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000: 45-70); possibly also KULULU lead fragment 3 (Hawkins 2000: 503-513).
[69] RINAP 2.7, 162.
[70] RINAP 1: T-P III.47, r 18; RINAP 3/1.1, 82.
[71] RINAP 2.2, 475-477a; RINAP 3/1.1, 82.

narrative for the component parts (i.e., doors, gates, etc.).[72] From these sources, it appears that the Assyrians understood the *bit hilani* as a single structure, but it also seems that they may have reduced the Syro-Anatolian palace to its most characteristic feature in their "replica" (*tamšil*), i.e., the monumental gate complexes. Considering the architectural differences between the standardized Assyrian palace and the different Syro-Anatolian palaces,[73] which are most similar in that they are typically in a walled citadel separated from the populace, the common feature of the gateway naturally served as the borrowed component.

If the Assyrians are right in defining their *bit hilani* as (representative of) a Hittite palace, then it may stand to reason that the Syro-Anatolian elites viewed the entire monumental complex as their "palace," probably inclusive of adjacent temples and other structures within the gates. If we compare the plan of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad, his inner citadel wall enclosed his palace along with the adjoining "sacred precinct," so that his *bit hilani* could very well have stood at the entrance to that complex. In the end, we have to consider an Assyrian interpretation of the Syro-Anatolian term and building (Singer 1975: 96-103) – either could have been altered in translation, but it may be fair to think of both as something other than a "palace," at least in the Assyrian (or modern) concept. In this work, the *hilani* is understood to have existed in both Syro-Anatolian and Assyrian worldviews. The Luwian (PORTA)*hilan(a)*- is interpreted as representing the entire monumental complex of a Syro-Anatolian settlement, while the Assyrian *bit hilani* is understood as the Assyrian interpretation of both the Luwian term and the Syro-Anatolian structure. Both definitions were real to their respective communities, but their

[72] RINAP 4.9, vi 55-58a.
[73] For Assyrian palace architecture, see Kertai (2015). For Syro-Anatolian palace architecture, see Pucci 2008 and Osborne et al. (2019).

physical, architectural expressions and indeed their definitions in textual sources were quite different.

Archaeologically, *hilani* entrances are defined based on the (double) columned porticoes that are found mostly in the later part of the Iron Age, with the relief of Aššurbanipal depicting a columned structure beside a stele believed to be an artistic depiction of a *bit hilani* (Fig. 5);[74] however, we have no native descriptions of a *hilani* from the Syro-Anatolian region, except perhaps in KARKAMIŠ A11a (Hawkins 2000: 94-100), which recounts the placement of "orthostats" for the temple and the "PORTA"-*na*. Interestingly, it seems the term "orthostat," (SCALPRUM)*kuttassar(i)*-, and its other forms are only found at Karkemiš, so using it as a defining character of a *hilani* is problematic, at least terminologically. Even if that was the defining character, it is interesting that columns are not mentioned in any ancient description, even though they are used as a defining feature in modern scholarship. Thus, in this section, in addition to structures that can be easily defined as a palace, buildings that appear to serve similar royal residential and representative functions are also considered. Doing so eliminates the need to define a universal architectural norm (i.e., THE palace) in the region, and allows for a greater understanding of local variations.

Below, the archaeological evidence from each region will be presented separately in a rough chronological organization, providing an illustration of micro-regional tendencies during consecutive phases. Processes of change and periods of prolonged continuity will be highlighted,

[74] Cf. Osborne (2012), who interprets the depicted structure instead as an *in antis* temple.

illuminating parallel developments in the institutions grounded within these governmental and administrative structures.

4.2.1 Northern Levant

During the last centuries of the Late Bronze Age, a number of northern Levantine settlements served as administrative centers for the Hittite empire and the kingdom of Ugarit. Only a few have been identified archaeologically and fewer still demonstrate some sort of occupational continuity or reoccupation during the Iron Age. Throughout the Late Bronze II, Tell Atçana declined in prosperity, apparently losing its previous administrative function; by the 13th century BCE, the site was abandoned with the exception of the area around the temple of Ištar, which persisted in use for at least several more decades (Woolley 1955; Mullins 2010: 62-3; Yener 2017: 215-218; Montesanto and Pucci 2019: 95). Similarly, Tell Afis served as a Hittite administrative center further south until its destruction at the end of the 13th century BCE, after which the settlement took on a largely domestic character, at least in the excavated areas of the site (Venturi 2007: 138-139). Tell Tweini, on the other hand, served as an economic and possibly administrative center for the kingdom of Ugarit before the polity fell with the destruction of Ugarit itself, ca. 1200 BCE (Bretschneider and van Lerberghe 2008: 31-33; Bretschneider et al. 2008: 344; Bretschneider et al. 2019: 1-2). Other occupied sites of the Late Bronze Age, namely Çatal Höyük (Pucci 2019b: 64-77, 145-147, 174-178), Sabuniye (Woolley 1937: 111-112; Woolley 1959: 179; Pamir and Nishiyama 2002: 302-305; Pamir 2006: 540-542; Pamir 2013; Pamir 2014), ‘ayn Dara (Abu Assaf 1990; Zimansky 2002; Novák 2012: 44-50), Aleppo (Kohlmeyer 2000), and Tell Sukas (Lund 1986: 11-23), have produced no clear evidence of a palace or other primarily administrative institutions. Tell Tayinat, though incredibly important

during subsequent periods, experienced an occupational hiatus during the whole of the Late Bronze Age until the mid- to late 12th century BCE (Braidwood and Braidwood 1960: 13-14; Haines 1971: 64-66; Harrison 2009: 176); and the similarly important Al-Mina was not yet settled and would not be until the Middle Iron Age.

Exceptionally, while settlement occupations persisted or resumed across much of the region during the Early Iron Age, there is no sign of administrative institutions or structures. The 11th century BCE renovations of several important temples, i.e., those at Aleppo and ‘ayn Dara, may reflect an otherwise archaeologically invisible administration, but only indirectly (Kohlmeyer 2000; Kohlmeyer 2009: 197-200; Abu Assaf 1990). Occupations at Tell Tayinat (Harrison 2009: 180; Harrison 2013; Welton et al. 2019), Çatal Höyük (Pucci 2019b: 30-39, 77-92, 118-121, 147-156, 179-186), Tell Atçana (Montesanto and Pucci 2019-20: 116-117; Montesanto 2020; Pucci 2020), Sabuniye (Pamir 2013; Pamir 2014), ‘ayn Dara (Stone and Zimansky 1999: 23-58), Tell Afis (Venturi 1998: 124-162; Mazzoni 1998: 163-166; Mazzoni 2001: 100; Venturi 2007: 140-165, 187-188, 198-199; Venturi 2020: 19-41), Tell Sukas (Lund 1986: 24-35), and Tell Tweini (Bretschneider and van Lergberghe 2008: 43-44; Bretschneider et al. 2008: 344; Bretschneider, van Vyve, and Jans 2011: 80-84; Bretschneider et al. 2012: 60-64; Bretschneider et al. 2019: 8-10; Sauvage and Jans 2019: 37-41), the last three closely following destructions, all appear to have been entirely domestic during this period, though continued excavations at several sites, e.g., beneath the modern factory at Tell Tayinat where a Middle Iron Age palace is believed to be located, may reveal a different situation (Timothy Harrison, pers. comm. 2019).

The earliest known administrative center of the Iron Age northern Levant appeared at Tell Tayinat during the Middle Iron Age, at least by the 10th century BCE. A series of palatial and administrative structures persisted in various iterations until the late 8th century BCE, after which the site became an Assyrian provincial center with associated institutions (Haines 1971: 64-66; Harrison 2001: 125-129; Harrison 2005; Batiuk et al. 2005; Batiuk 2007; Harrison 2009; Denel and Harrison 2018: 372; Osborne et al. 2019). Tell Tweini may also have served as an administrative center further south with public buildings and a new urban plan dating between the mid-9th to 8th century BCE, as well as several wine and olive oil production installations perhaps suggesting involvement in long-distance exchange and a new economic focus at the site;[75] also of importance is the nearby site of Siyanu with an Assyrian fort dating to the late 8th century BCE, though the exact relation between the two sites is not entirely clear (Bretschneider and van Lerberghe 2008: 44; Bretschneider et al. 2008: 345; Bretschneider et al. 2019: 10-11). Aside from temple constructions and renovations at Tell Afis (Oggiano 1997: 187; Mazzoni 1998: 167-169; Cecchini 1998: 273-293; D'Amore 1998: 372-373; Soldi 2009: 106-108; Mazzoni 2012; Mazzoni 2014; Cecchini 2014; Mazzoni 2016. Venturi 2020: 41-44), 'ayn Dara (Abu Assaf 1990), Aleppo (Kohlmeyer 2009: 200-202), and Tell Tweini (Bretschneider et al. 2000), all other occupations in the region were domestic in character (Stone and Zimansky 1999: 23-58; Pucci 2019b: 39-61, 93-104, 121-134, 186-193; Pamir 2013; Pamir 2014; Lund 1986: 36-40); the temple at Aleppo, and perhaps also the settlement, was abandoned around the mid-9th century BCE following a conflagration (Kohlmeyer 2009: 201), and Tell Atçana was entirely

[75] While a new economic specialization or participation in long-distance trade does not necessarily imply central authority or administration, the excavators have interpreted the sum of the Middle Iron Age developments at the site as "the consequence of the international politics in the 8th century B.C.E., when the Syrian coast came under Assyrian control" (Bretschneider, van Vyve, and Jans 2011: 85).

abandoned by the 8th century BCE (Montesanto and Pucci 2019: 117). Al-Mina was founded during the late 9th century BCE, but no evidence of an administrative function has been found (Woolley 1937; Pamir and Nishiyama 2002: 294-302; Luke 2003: 12-22; Pamir 2006: 538-540).

4.2.2 The Bend

The Late Bronze Age in the Bend is almost entirely absent at all excavated sites; only Tilmen Höyük appears to have had a limited Late Bronze I occupation following a previously robust Middle Bronze Age settlement; it was not occupied in any phase of the Iron Age (Duru 2001a; Duru 2013). No sites have produced Late Bronze II occupation phases.

Similarly, the Early Iron Age is poorly represented across the region, and no sites bear obvious evidence of administration or palatial institutions. Gerçin Höyük, though currently unexcavated, appears to have been the location of a monumental center; the surface discovery of monumental statues of Hadad, commissioned by Panamuwa I, and of Panamuwa II, commissioned by Bar-Rākib, demonstrates the significance of the site and the extension of Sam'alian kingship and administration (von Luschan 1893: 44-55). Additionally, illicit excavations have revealed what appears to be monumental architecture that is most likely Iron Age, perhaps extending into the Early Iron Age (https://gercin-excavations.de/en/project). Whether this could be a palace, rather than a temple or other structure, cannot be determined with available evidence, but Gerçin Höyük was surely the home of a significant institution of Sam'al.

The Middle Iron Age, by contrast, bears evidence for the construction of several monumental structures that may have functioned as palaces, with architectural evidence only

known from within the vicinity of Sam'al and likely a part of the Sam'alian institution of rule. Zincirli, the capital of Sam'al, was reoccupied in the late 10th to early 9th century BCE as the primary administrative center of the kingdom. During the second half of the 9th century BCE, the site was monumentalized, featuring a double city wall surrounding a lower town organized around concentric roads, and a citadel wall surrounding palatial buildings (J, K, and L) with adjacent courtyards (M and R). As part of a subsequent building phase in the early 8th century BCE, the palatial structures were expanded with the addition of a *bit hilani* (Hilani III) and additional administrative buildings (P and NHB), apparently continuing a process of local political development through further monumentalization and urbanization. During the mid- to late 8th century BCE, the settlement became an Assyrian provincial capital; much of the previous palatial complex fell into disuse, and many structures were replaced by an Assyrian palace (G) with a new *bit hilani* (II). At the same time, the city walls were renovated, much of the urban space was reorganized with large domestic complexes replacing several small homes, and an extramural structure interpreted as a *bit kari*, or trading post, was constructed, together with the deviations on the citadel illustrating a substantial change in the Sam'alian institution of the palace reflecting Assyrian influence (von Luschan 1893, 1898, 1902, 1911; Wartke 2005: 67-73; Schloen and Fink 2007; Pucci 2008: 15-80; Schloen and Fink 2009; Herrmann and Schloen 2016; Herrmann 2017: 245-260; Herrmann and Schloen 2018; Schloen, Herrmann, and Kalaycı 2019; Herrmann and Schloen 2021). Sakçagözü was settled shortly after Zincirli in the early to mid-8th century BCE; a palace and administrative buildings occupy the walled citadel, demonstrating a local administration, or perhaps an extension of Sam'alian rule, much like Gerçin Höyük (Garstang 1908: 103-114; Garstang 1912-13: 70-71; Du Plat Taylor et al. 1950:

57-123; Ussishkin 1966: 15-23; Çifçi 2019; 371-378). Yesemek, the stone quarry and statuary workshop, may have been in use as early as the 10th century BCE.[76] It produced large quantities of monuments, some of which have been identified at Zincirli, perhaps suggesting institutional control of the resource at least during the 9th to 8th century BCE (Alkım 1974; Temizsoy 1992: 303; Duru 2001b: 139; Duru 2004: 94, 99-100; Tuğcu 2012: 64-81; Başkaya and Türk 2014: 283-284; Tetik 2016: 161-168).

It is important to note that no excavations have revealed settlements with relevant occupation phases in the northern portion of the Bend. The capital of the kingdom of Maraş is very probably located beneath the modern city of Kahramanmaraş, but the current urban sprawl prevents investigation beyond the monuments that have been found out of primary context. The vast wealth demonstrated by these monuments surely indicates the presence of a palace, and textual evidence illuminates related institutions, but physical evidence remains elusive.

4.2.3 Cilicia

During the Late Bronze Age, the region of Cilicia was home to the kingdom of Kizzuwadna, first as an independent kingdom, then subordinate to Mitanni, and finally under the direct administration of the Hittite empire by the early 14th century BCE (Bryce 2005: 121-153; Bilgin 2018: 44; Trameri 2020: 436-437). This last period, spanning the Late Bronze II and III, is characterized by a decline in prosperity across the region. The NW Building and subsequent Stele Building at Kilise Tepe have been interpreted as having primarily storage and perhaps cultic function, but the discovery of an ivory stamp seal in the former and four lentoid seals in

[76] However, see Tuğcu (2012: 82-87) for an alternative dating.

and around the latter suggests also some administrative function. The reuse of the Stele Building and the construction of the new circular or apsidal posthole building during the final Late Bronze Age occupation suggests an attempt at administrative institutional continuity through political and economic decline (Postgate and Thomas 2007: 121; Blakeney 2017: 46-7; Heffron et al. 2017: 118-120). While the remains of the final Late Bronze Age occupation of Mersin are poorly preserved, the discovery of a stamp seal bearing Anatolian Hieroglyphics, along with remnants of architecture and pottery, point towards the waning presence of Hittite administration at the site (Garstang 1953; Sevin and Köroğlu 2004). The Late Bronze IIa occupation of Tarsus represents the period of Hittite imperial presence, characterized in Section B by large, probably multi-storied buildings, which have been interpreted as an administrative district of the settlement due to the scale of the structures and finds, such as bullae with administrative and royal names. The final Late Bronze occupation (IIb) appears to lose any administrative function, with only scanty architectural remains, described by Goldman as a "squatter's settlement" (Goldman 1956: 58-9; Yalçın 2013: 200; Ünlü 2015: 519-520; Özyar et al. 2019). The monumental Building A on the citadel of Tatarlı Höyük has most recently been interpreted as a Hittite temple with both cultic and administrative functions in various rooms, perhaps acting as a so-called temple-palace; administrative activities are mostly suggested by a number of seals, sealings, and bullae (Ünal and Girginer 2010; Girginer and Collon 2014; Girginer, Oyman-Girginer, and Akıl 2011; Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020: 220). No definitively administrative or palatial structures have been identified in the Late Bronze Age levels of Sirkeli, however, a number of monumental buildings of unknown function were discovered on the plateau and citadel mound, including what may be a coherent building complex in the Inner Citadel (Novák, Kozal, and Yasin 2019:

370-1, 380 fig. 286). Similarly, at Kinet Höyük, a series of large, multi-roomed structures are attributed to Hittite production, but cannot be functionally characterized as administrative or palatial (Gates 2013).

Kilise Tepe, Mersin, Tarsus, and Kinet Höyük each show evidence of destruction in the early 12th century BCE (Postgate and Thomas 2007: 121, 148-150; Postgate 2017: 5; Sevin and Köroğlu 2004: 75-80; Garstang 1953; Ünlü 2015: 519; Gates 2001: 59; Gates 2006: 692; Lehmann 2017: 237). Sirkeli appears to have experienced a hiatus of occupation on the citadel from around the end of the 13th to mid-12th century BCE, or perhaps only a partial abandonment of monumental structures. In either case, this does not appear to be a complete deurbanization of the site, as evidence from the lower town suggests continued occupation of domestic structures (Novák 2020: 220; Sollee et al. 2020: 221 fig. 8). Mersin demonstrates a hiatus from its early 12th century BCE destruction until at least the 8th, probably the 7th century BCE (Sevin and Özaydın 2004: 85). Likewise, Adana appears to have experienced a hiatus after the Late Bronze II until the late 8th century BCE; its Late Bronze character is unclear (Yaşin and Dervişoğlu 2019).[77] A hiatus is also evident at Tatarlı Höyük between ca. 1200 and 850 BCE (Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020: 218-220). The occupation of Domuztepe and Karatepe are unclear during this period, but any administrative apparatus seems unlikely; Misis was not yet settled and, thus, cannot provide any information for the Late Bronze Age.

The Early Iron Age is poorly represented in Cilicia, and very little evidence exists to suggest any substantial political institutions like the palace. Only at Sirkeli are there monumental

[77] However, see Şahin (2016a; 2016b; 2017) for an alternative, albeit preliminary interpretation by the previous director of excavations at the site.

structures with probable administrative functions. From the mid- to late 12th century BCE, prosperity resumed at the settlement post-hiatus, and a series of inner and outer citadel walls were constructed on the mound. Within both limits, contemporaneous architecture of public and residential character has been identified, some of which was monumental (Novák 2020: 215-218; Sollee et al. 2020: 224). While there is no clear delineation of space on the citadel, it seems plausible that the inner citadel was reserved for the rulership of the settlement along with any structures directly administered by the top institutions, while the outer citadel may have been home to elite families and other public structures. In any case, the building works of the Early Iron Age at Sirkeli and the restriction of space as a result of monumental citadel walls at the site suggest a central authority apparently absent elsewhere in the region.

The only other settlement with a structure that appears to be distinctly non-domestic and may have had an administrative function is Tarsus. Following a squatter occupation around the end of the Late Bronze Age, Tarsus was rebuilt between the mid-12th and mid-10th century BCE; while the vast majority of architecture could be classified as domestic in character with some possible small-scale commercial structures, a new apsidal building was also built nearby, but separated from other structures. Its size, monumentality, distinct form, and isolation suggest that it had a special function, but no evidence has been produced to distinguish its purpose – an administrative function cannot be ruled out (Goldman 1963: 3-6; Yalçın 2013: 200; Ünlü 2015: 519-520). At Kilise Tepe and Kinet Höyük, only domestic architecture can be dated to this period (Postgate and Thomas 2007: 152-158; Mac Sweeney 2017: 102-105; Heffron et al. 2017: 123-127; Gates 1998: 265; Gates 2013: 105-107; Lehmann 2017: 237-238), while Mersin, Adana, and Tatarlı remain in an occupational hiatus (Sevin and Özaydın 2004: 85; Caneva and

Jean 2016: 33; Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020: 218-220). The situation at Domuztepe and Karatepe remains unclear through the Early Iron Age, and Misis was not settled until the following period.

The Middle Iron Age in Cilicia is characterized by increasing evidence of occupation, urbanization, and in some cases administration. At Sirkeli, the settlement grew with an increasingly urban lower town through the mid-8th century BCE, until its late 8th century BCE decline, but never showing clear evidence of administration or palatial institutions (Novák 2020: 221; Sollee et al. 2020: 225-241). Kinet Höyük similarly increased in prosperity through the 10th to 9th century BCE. The remains of a large well-built mudbrick building dated to the 8th century BCE have been interpreted as a palace, suggesting a local administration at the time (Gates 1995); while administrative technology is limited, finds include a 'Lyre-player' stamp seal and a jar bearing a Phoenician inscription (Gates 2003: 408; Gates 2004; 166). A subsequent monumental building dated to the same century appears to be an Assyrian administrative complex with materials that include a Middle Assyrian-style cylinder seal (Gates 1996: 294; 1997: 254); a number of Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals, a green scarab seal, an 'Egyptian blue' cylinder seal, and a Mitanni Elaborate Style cylinder seal were also found in and around this complex (Gates 1999: 197; 2003: 407; 2007: 288-9).

Misis Höyük was first settled around the end of the 9th century BCE, and a large structure interpreted as an administrative complex was built in the mid-8th century BCE. A new complex with different orientation and layout was constructed in the late 8th century BCE, shortly before the site was abandoned at the end of the century (D'Agata 2017: 88-92; D'Agata 2019a: 49-50; D'Agata 2019b: 89-103). It appears that the site was home to a short-lived administration housed

in buildings constructed in what is likely a local tradition using casemate walls to the end of the 8th century BCE, perhaps indicating a local Cilician institution of rule, albeit deeply connected to the Mediterranean and Aegean worlds, as is suggested by the incredibly robust ceramic assemblage currently under evaluation.

Domuztepe and Karatepe may have been occupied with domestic structures in the 10th to 9th century BCE, but it was not until sometime in the 9th century BCE that Domuztepe was urbanized and monumentalized, suggesting some form of central authority. Karatepe gained its urban and monumental character in the late 8th century BCE, including an administrative complex interpreted as a palace, before its abandonment in the early 7th century BCE (Bossert et al. 1950; Alkım 1952; Ussishkin 1969; Winter 1979; Darga 1986: 399-400; Çambel and Özyar 2003: 122-144; Özyar 2013; Sicker-Akman, Bossert, and Fischer-Bossert 2014). Like Misis, these settlements seem to have been the center of a local seat of rule during the Middle Iron Age.

Tarsus, on the other hand, lost its only known building with a possible administrative function during the 10th century BCE, reverting to what appears to be an entirely domestic settlement. During the 7th century, however, evidence for Assyrian administration is known at least from the reign of Sennacherib; a deposit of tablets was found partly embedded in a floor following a destruction layer associated with the Assyrian king's campaigns in the region (Goldman 1963: 5-11). Kilise Tepe persisted in occupation until the mid-7th century BCE but retained its domestic character without evidence of any political institution or administrative structure (Postgate and Thomas 2007: 159-177; Heffron et al. 2017: 128-142). Mersin and Adana were resettled following their occupational hiatus around the late 8th century BCE, but with only domestic architecture and no evidence of administration (Sevin and Özaydın 2004: 85-92;

Caneva and Köroğlu 2011; Yaşin and Dervişoğlu 2019). Tatarlı Höyük was reoccupied in the mid-9th century BCE, but similarly lacks evidence of administrative function (Girginer et al. 2011: 133-4; Girginer et al. 2013: 186; Girginer et al. 2014: 436; Girginer et al. 2016: 445-446; Girginer et al. 2017: 231; Girginer et al. 2019: 174; Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020: 219-220).[78]

4.2.4 Discussion

In the northern Levant, several sites bear evidence of Hittite or Ugaritic administration during the final centuries of the Late Bronze Age, such as Tell Atçana, Tell Afis, Tell Tweini, and Ugarit itself – all of which experienced a decline or destruction around the end of the 13th century BCE. Direct evidence for an Early Iron Age political institution in the region is entirely lacking, but the 11th century BCE temple renovations at Aleppo and ‘ayn Dara indirectly suggest a central authority, perhaps already based at Tell Tayinat, the eventual capital of the region whose ruler commissioned these cultic building projects, though the lack of early monumentality and urbanization at the site makes this last a tentative suggestion at best. Only in the Middle Iron Age, from at least the 10th century BCE at Tell Tayinat, is there a renewal of monumental building projects associated with political institutions in the northern Levant. A series of palaces with *bit hilani* entrances, audience halls, and administrative buildings attest to the persistence of a local central authority until the late 8th century BCE, at which time the settlement became an Assyrian provincial capital with its own building projects demonstrating Assyrian institutions of

[78] However, it should be noted that the excavators previously suggested that the Late Bronze Age Building A was transformed into a “Bit-Hilani (?)” during the Iron Age (Ünal and Girginer 2010; see also Girginer et al. 2011: 133-134), which would then suggest that the building served a special function, perhaps related to governance or administration.

rule. The port of Al-Mina appears to have been established by, or at least fallen under the administrative control of, Tell Tayinat from the late 9th century BCE. The only other settlement in the northern Levant with evidence of governmental and administrative structures dated to the Middle Iron Age is Tell Tweini, while the nearby site of Siyanu bears a late 8th century BCE Assyrian fort, suggesting political competition or, very likely, a shift in power at this time, as is seen at select sites in both Cilicia and the Bend.

In the region of the Bend, the architectural remains of political institutions are only evident from the Middle Iron Age. While there was surely a monumental capital of Maraş, the state of excavations only allows the assessment of the Sam'alian built landscape. The capital at Zincirli was re-founded in the late 10th to early 9th century BCE and characterized by a series of palatial buildings featuring monumental *bit hilani* entrances, royal audience halls, and administrative structures, built during several phases throughout the 9th and 8th century BCE. Until the mid- to late 8th century BCE, these buildings were home to a local central authority, which appears to have extended at least to Gerçin Höyük and the quarries of Yesemek, and probably to Sakçagözü, illustrated by the comparable architecture and relief monuments. After this time, Zincirli became an Assyrian provincial capital; previous government buildings were replaced by an Assyrian palace and administrative structures, much like the situation at Kinet Höyük in Cilicia.

Across Cilicia, the last centuries of the Late Bronze Age were characterized by a phase of organized administration in the form of monumental complexes bearing evidence of large-scale storage and sealing technologies, mostly attributed to Hittite authority, followed by a period of decline, often illustrated by ephemeral occupation, a reduction in monumentality, and a lack of

administrative technologies, and in some cases, a destruction event and/or complete hiatus of occupation. Following one such hiatus at Sirkeli Höyük, a central authority returned to the region around the mid- to late 12th century BCE, illustrated by the monumental building project on the citadel. While no palatial or clearly administrative structures have been identified, the large-scale public works are indicative of an institutional revival, unseen anywhere else in the region, except perhaps at Tarsus on a much smaller scale between the mid-12th and mid-10th century BCE. There is no evidence that the governmental authority located at Sirkeli had institutional control over Cilicia, so it appears that the region was mostly devoid of a political administration during the Early Iron Age, with the exception of the single monumentalized settlement. While the following centuries of the Middle Iron Age appear to be defined by localized processes of development, several broad trends can be identified across the region. Occupation, urbanization, and monumentalization increased in Cilicia beginning in the 10th century, but especially between the 9th and 8th century BCE. Additionally, individual local authorities at various sites, such as Kinet Höyük, Misis Höyük, Domuztepe, and Karatepe, are suggested by new administrative complexes, sometimes interpreted as palaces. At Kinet Höyük, this local administration was replaced by one of Assyrian character, demonstrated by a later 8th century BCE building phase and a robust assemblage of Assyrian-style administrative technologies. Likewise, Assyrian tablets found at Tarsus are suggestive of imperial administration at the site during the 7th century BCE. In contrast to these two sites, no evidence of destruction or Assyrian administration was found at Sirkeli, suggesting a peaceful transition and less direct implementation of Assyrian rule at the site. Thus, Assyrian administration appears to have been selectively applied in Cilicia and not all previous administrative centers were utilized by the empire, seemingly in contrast with

the situation in the Bend. Elsewhere in the region, many sites bear no evidence of political institutions of their own and may have fallen under the control of another authority in Cilicia during the Middle Iron Age.

In sum, while the architectural remains associated with political institutions of governance and administration developed, in many ways, independently in each micro-region, certain broad regional trends exist, demonstrating processes of glocalization. Where evidence exists, that is, in Cilicia and the northern Levant, the final centuries of the Late Bronze Age feature the decline of Hittite and, to a lesser extent, Ugaritic authority. The Early Iron Age, then, is characterized by a general lack of political institutions with a single exception at Sirkeli Höyük in Cilicia. This is particularly notable considering the political (and cultic) importance of Cilicia and the northern Levant during the previous period. The Middle Iron Age, on the other hand, consists of a proliferation of local authorities across all regions – what might be considered a diversification of power – followed by a last phase of Assyrian provincialization, during which many local administrative centers featured architectural and institutional reforms associated with the change in rule, but notably, not all previous centers were converted by the empire.

4.3 Sculptural and Inscribed Monuments: Statues, Stelae, and Reliefs

In this section, nonstructural monuments, namely statues, stelae, rock reliefs, and relief orthostats, will be examined as expressions of political identity and reflections of royal ideologies. Monuments with political content – textual or visual – and/or erected for a political purpose – such as commemoration, legitimation, or as an assertion of power – will be presented for each micro-region in chronological order to illustrate localized processes of resilience and innovation in monumental representations and political displays. Particular attention is paid to

the form of monuments employed in each region, to iconographic choices in pictorial and figural monuments, to scripts selected for inscribed monuments, and to references to political figures and offices mentioned in the content of inscriptions – interpreted together as products of political institutions, especially kingship and its locally specific ideologies. While this section largely consists of a presentation of evidence, it is followed by an examination of political diversity and factionalism within the Core Region, which is supported by Assyrian textual sources concerned with various aspects of the region, and finally by an in-depth evaluation of micro-regional forms of kingship and individual expressions of political identity constructed by local rulers.

4.3.1 Northern Levant

Only one Late Bronze Age monument with an arguably political disposition comes from the northern Levant. An orthostat dated to the late 14th to early 13th century BCE and found reused as a paving stone in the temple of Ištar at Alalakh bears a low relief depicting two standing figures with epigraphs identifying them as Tudhaliya, Great Priest and Prince, and Asnu-Hepa, Princess (Fig. 6). Both figures appear in long robes, Tudhaliya's open in the front; he also wears a rounded cap, while Asnu-Hepa's head appears covered by a wrapping shawl. Tudhaliya's hands appear in empty fists with his right hand held before his chest and his left raised before him. Asnu-Hepa may be holding an object in her left hand, but it cannot be securely identified; her right hand is raised to her mouth (Woolley 1955: 86-87; Yener 2017: 216-217). While context and content allude to a cultic function, the designation of a prince and princess at Alalakh in the waning years of the city's significance may indicate a persistence of a local institution of rulership connected to the Hittite institution of the temple. That the orthostat was reused as a paving stone is additionally important – was the image of the ruling couple

displaced in order to cut ties between political and cultic institutions? Or was the removal of the Great Priest indicative of a break in institutional norms, suggesting a separation from Hittite tradition and perhaps a move to entirely local practices, which may not have required a Great Priest, or at least not one so closely connected with the imperial Hittites through position and name.

The northern Levant is also where we find the earliest monuments illustrative of the political landscape during the Iron Age. Dated to the 11th century BCE are two Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from the temple of the Storm God at Aleppo, both attributed to the rule of Taita I of Palastina (Fig. 7; Hawkins 2011). ALEPPO 6 accompanies an image of the king in a simple knee-length tunic belted at the waist and a pointed cap; his hair hangs to his shoulders, his beard is closely cropped to his face, and he holds his hands in closed fists in much the same way as Prince Tudhaliya from Alalakh – his left his held before his chest and his right is raised before him. The king faces a much more decorated image of the Storm God, thus connecting Palastinean kingship directly to the intra-regional cult of the Storm God. The inscription furthers this visual claim as Taita prescribes the appropriate sacrifices to be made by any who wish to worship at the temple:

> "(He) who comes to this temple to celebrate the god,
> if he (is) a king, let him sacrifice an ox and a sheep.
> On the other hand, if he is a … king's son,
> or he (is) a Country-Lord or he (is) a River-Country-Lord,
> let him too sacrifice a sheep.

On the other hand, if he (is) an inferior man,

(there shall be) bread, oblation, and…" (Hawkins 2011: 45)

A fragmentary inscription running across two adjoining portal figures, one lion and one sphinx, provides additional information regarding the deeds of Taita I, visible to those entering the temple (ALEPPO 7). Here, the Palastinean king and hero appears to describe some sort of campaign or a series of significant interregional interactions in which he seems to have left Karkemiš, perhaps carrying off a statue of Kubaba, and either acquired mules from Egypt or gave mules to the southern state (Kohlmeyer 2009; Hawkins 2011; Weeden 2013: 11-20). In his inscription Taita appears to set himself among the leading powers around the eastern Mediterranean in the Early Iron Age, justifying his control of the cultic institutions of the major temple of the Storm God at a time when there is no known Palastinean palace. It seems, then, that Taita was in fact establishing a new institution of kingship, which co-opted many traditions of the Hittites (dress, posture, connection with the Storm God, script-language, political equals, etc.), without attempting to provide a direct link to any Hittite royal bloodline, in contrast to the efforts of the kings of Karkemiš and Malatya in the north. This distinction is significant as it suggests the formation of political identity unique among its contemporaries, one in which its Late Bronze Age legacy was implied, but not expressed.

Coming from the village of Meharde, just north of Hama at an intersection between the Orontes River and the Hama-Qal'at el Mudiq road, are two stelae inscribed with Hieroglyphic Luwian, both mentioning a Taita (probably II), the hero and king of Walastin, an alternative spelling for the kingdom of Palastina (MEHARDE; SHEIZAR; Hawkins 2000: 415-419; Fig. 8). Both stelae are dated to the 10th century BCE and seem to be funerary monuments for Taita II

and his wife or mother, Kupapiya.[79] The content of the inscriptions provide little information about the polity aside from the survival of the founding dynasty through multiple generations; however, the location of the stelae, admittedly in secondary context, may suggest an expansion of the kingdom up to and possibly including Hama. At the least, it is not unreasonable to infer a royal burial ground in the vicinity, something akin to the situation between Zincirli and Gerçin in the kingdom of Sam'al, or even a secondary urban center within the limits of the kingdom. This last suggestion finds support from two additional external sources. The Biblical figure Toi, king of Hamath, has been interpreted by several scholars as a Hebrew rendering of the name Tai(ta), which would most likely accord chronologically with Taita II and the erection of Palastinean burial monuments near Hama itself (2 Sam 8:9-10; 1 Chr 18:9-10; Steitler 2010; Galil 2014; however, see Simon 2014a: 725 for a challenge to the linguistic equation). This equivalence leaves several questions: was Taita/Toi a Palastinean king of Hamath? Was the institution of Palastinean kingship moved to Hamath? Or was Toi the king of a divergent or subordinate kingdom located in Hamath, much like the Hittite kings of Late Bronze Age Karkemiš or the periodical Assyrian kings of Iron Age Babylonia? The answers to these remain elusive, but a direct connection between the 10th century BCE institutions of Palastinean and Hamathite kingship seems incredibly likely. The final supportive inscription dated ca. 830 BCE comes, in fact, from Hama itself; an inscribed building block refers to a fortress, "which the Hurpata river-land made, and therein (are) Halabeans" (HAMA 1; Hawkins 2000: 411-414), suggesting an

[79] Kupapiya is described as the woman or wife of Taita, which could refer to the dynastic founder. This is supported by elements of the text that describe the commissioning of the monument and its subsequent care by a long list of descendants.

extension of Hamathite control to the Halab region, perhaps between the periods of Palastinean and Arpadite influence.

Two stelae discovered during modern construction works at a military base near the village of Arsuz on the İskenderun Bay are dated to the late 10th or early 9th century BCE (Fig. 9; Dinçol et al. 2015). The monoliths are near copies of each other with slight variations in their Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions and certain particularities separating their visual messages. The monuments were commissioned by Suppiluliuma (I), hero and Walastinean king, son of king Manana, an otherwise unknown figure. The name of the king, whether chosen as a royal name or given as his natural name, alludes to Hittite descent – not necessarily from the Hittite royal bloodline, though perhaps also that, but indicative of institutional continuity as it pertains to kingship. The imagery on the stelae similarly connects the Palastinean dynasty with that of the later Hittite empire, albeit with several innovations. The king is legitimated by his proximity and direct connection with the Storm God, who guides him by the hand, in much the same way that Tudhaliya IV, for instance, expressed his divine kingship through his representation in the embrace of Šarruma in the rock reliefs of Yazılıkaya. While these motifs are clearly different, the physical contact between king and god is significant, and it appears in contrast with Levantine comparanda both before and contemporaneous (i.e., the Ba'al stele from Ugarit and the Meharde stele found near Hama), perhaps indicating the resilience of a Hittite or Anatolian understanding of the relationship between royal and divine figures persisting within the Iron Age kingdom of Palastina. Suppiluliuma's role as provider of sustenance for his kingdom is expressed through the grapes and grain held in his hands, and his roles as warrior and benefactor are displayed in his connection to the Storm God's roles illustrated by bull and vegetal motif upon which the two

figures stand. Notably, the king (and deity) is depicted in different attire on the two stelae – once with long robe and round cap, and once with a tunic, short skirt, and headband revealing curly hair. These differences may reflect a lack of institutionalized royal dress, or perhaps a moment of change within the institution of Palastinean kingship. Lastly, the inscription describes Suppiluliuma's victories against the land of Hiyawa and the city/land of Adana, a deed which had not been achieved by his predecessors. These lines suggest a campaign into Cilicia, perhaps resulting in some form of short-lived political control over the region, though the location of these stelae on the opposite side of the bay across from Cilicia, whether erected there or deposited enroute to their intended destination, may reflect the actual limits of territorial control (ARSUZ 1 and 2; Dinçol et al. 2015).

Three monumental statues discovered on the citadel mound of Tell Tayinat are dated to the late 10th to mid-9th century BCE.[80] The first of these is a fragmentary representation of a male figure, perhaps a king (Fig. 10).[81] Only the head of the figure, with curly hair in a sort of mushroom shape and a close-cropped curly beard, and broken pieces of an inscribed throne were found nearby; the text includes references to a Walastinean and to a Halparuntiya, though these are disconnected and no titles are evident (TELL TAYINAT 1; Hawkins 2000: 365-267). Another statue of a male figure preserved from about the waist upward depicts an individual with inlaid eyes, bold curly hair and beard similar in form to that of the seated statue, and holding what appears to be a stalk of grain and a blade in hands held before him, arms bent at right

[80] All three statues were found damaged, though their differing states of preservation suggest particular processes of destruction and deposition – and indeed, remembering and forgetting – distinct to each monument (Osborne 2017b: 173-181).

[81] According to Bonatz (2000: 113), the seated posture of the figure should indicate that he is deceased and memorialized in the statue, perhaps the focus of an ancestor cult and maybe even representing the founder of the dynasty, Taita I. Alternatively, it is also possible that the figure represents some unknown deity.

angles (Fig. 11). He wears a simple tunic along with a large, pectoral necklace and arm- and wristbands with ends in the shape of lion heads. Three registers of a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription run across the figure's back, identifying him as Suppiluliuma (II), probably king of Palastina, though neither toponym nor title are preserved; quite significantly, the figure's name is written in the traditional Hittite logographic form, PURUS.FONS.*MI*, rather than any syllabic spelling, once again attesting a connection between the Hittite and Palastinean institutions of kingship. The remainder of the inscriptions describes the deeds of Suppiluliuma, including his apparent victory over an unknown opponent, from whom he took away territory, establishing a new border (TELL TAYINAT 4; Denel and Harrison 2018). The third statue from Tayinat is uninscribed and depicts a female figure with a hawkish nose, her head covered by shawl with curly hair emerging in the front, and her closed right hand held against her breast; the statue is broken through the torso and nothing lower is preserved (Fig. 12). While no identification of the figure can currently be made, it is possible that she represents a prominent queen, perhaps Kupapiya, known from the SHEIZAR inscription and possibly the wife of the dynastic founder (Gelb 1939: 39-40; Denel and Harrison 2018: 369; Harrison et al. 2018).[82]

While the kingdom of Hama is not central to this project, it is worth noting the mid- to late 9th century dynasty that produced and were attested in several Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. Kings Urhilina/Irhuleni and (his son) Uratami erected a number of non-figural relief inscriptions on stelae, orthostats, and building blocks, many of them copies of each other and mostly commemorating building projects or monumental dedications (HAMA 1-9; RESTAN;

[82] Alternatively, this figure could represent a deity, perhaps Kubaba or the Divine Queen of the Land, for which see Section 5.4.2. Current research by the TAP team, however, strongly suggests that the figure represented is a royal person, thus in line with the above interpretation (Stephen Batiuk, pers. comm. 2022).

QAL'AT EL MUDIQ; HINES; Hawkins 2000: 403-414; see also, Younger 2016: 446-449). Most importantly for our purposes, these inscriptions illustrate a new dynasty in the region that *may have been* controlled by the Early Iron Age kingdom of Palastina until, it seems, the early to mid-9th century. This dynasty appears to have comprised, beyond these two kings, Parita, the father of Urhilina, who was given no title, and at least one prior generation indicated by a reference to the times of Urhilina's grandfather (HAMA 4; Hawkins 2000: 403-406). There is not, however, any reference to Toi, Taita, or any other Palastinean king, likely indicating at least a disconnect between the two dynasties and kingdoms, whether persisting from the previous period or marking a change in political control. In any case, at least by this time, Hama and its environs were autonomous and provide a southern limit to our northern Levantine micro-region during the Middle Iron Age.

The monuments of the later 9th and 8th century BCE from the northern Levant illustrate a substantially different political landscape, more fragmented and politically diverse. From the Amuq valley come fragments of an undefined monument bearing Hieroglyphic Luwian text that mentions 'governors' or 'local rulers',[83] suggesting the adoption of a political institution not evident elsewhere in the region during the Iron Age (JISR EL HADID fragments; Hawkins 2000: 378-380).[84] Additionally, the territorial extent and political significance of the kingdom of Palastina, apparently called Patina or Unqi by 8th century BCE, was much reduced. A stele erected by the Assyrian king Adad-nerari III and his *turtanu* Šamši-ilu, thus dated to the early 8th

[83] Luw. *tapariyalinzi* (nom. pl.).
[84] It and related terms were, however, used further north in Gurgum, along the Upper Euphrates, and in south central Anatolia, suggesting perhaps a northern Levantine translation of a local institution with Anatolian (Hittite) terminology previously and elsewhere associated with Hittite and Upper Euphratean governors; for a discussion of the term(s), see Melchert (2019) and Gerçek and d'Alfonso (2022).

century BCE, was brought to the modern city of Antakya (Fig. 13). The Assyrian inscription describes the establishment of a border between Zakkur the Hamathite and Ataršumki of Arpad, clearly favoring the latter, with the Orontes River serving as the boundary (ANTAKYA STELE; CoS 2.114A; RIMA 3, A.0.104.1). That the Assyrian king oversaw such local political matters suggests some sort of hegemonic or imperial control; at the least, the local polities of the region appear subordinate to Assyria, having lost their independence of the preceding centuries. The contemporaneous stele of Zakkur, king of Hamath and Lu'aš, and man of 'Anah, that was discovered in secondary context at Tell Afis illustrates the loss of southern territory by Palastina (Fig. 14). Zakkur asserts his divine kingship over the city of Hazrach (mod. Tell Afis), bestowed upon him by Ba'al Šamem. He continues by detailing an opposing coalition of seventeen kings led by Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram; included among them were the kings of Bit-Agusi, Que, 'Amuq, Gurgum, Sam'al, and Meliz (Malatya), who laid siege upon Hazrach (ZAKKUR STELE; KAI 202; CoS 2.35). An assault by the king in the Amuq, presumably of Patina/Unqi, needs no explanation since the territory formerly belonged to the more northern polity. The collaboration with the other northern kingdoms, on the other hand, suggests a collegial relationship, perhaps formed in response to external pressures. Lastly, the mid-8th century BCE Old Aramaic inscriptions on the undecorated stele from Al-Safirah, near Aleppo, provide conclusive evidence that the settlement and associated cultic institutions no longer fell under the influence of the kingdom in the Amuq. The texts describe a treaty between Bar-ga'yah, king of KTK, and Mati'el, son of 'Attaršamak, king [of Arpad] (SEFIRE INSCRIPTIONS; KAI 222-224; CoS 2.82), once again illustrating the increasingly fragmented political landscape of the northern Levant, here at the expense of the kingdom of Palastina.

4.3.2 The Bend

No Late Bronze Age monuments that can be interpreted with political content or having a political purpose have been discovered in the region east of Cilicia and north of the Amuq. However, during the Iron Age, perhaps as early as the first half of the 10th century BCE, monuments depicting kings and rulers or describing their lineage and reign became quite common. These mostly come in the form of stelae and statues in-the-round, but a few orthostat reliefs and several relevant inscribed small objects will be discussed, as well. These monuments come from the rulers of Gurgum and Sam'al, with a single stele attributed to the Assyrian kings Adad-nerari III and Šalmaneser IV. One additional fragment of a monument, probably from a statue in-the-round, cannot be assuredly attributed to a particular polity, but appears to come from a precursor kingdom nearby Sam'al (PANCARLI; Herrmann, van den Hout, and Beyazlar 2016; Fig. 15); while the fragmentary Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription does not mention any personal, political, or geographical names, it is suggestive of an early political entity in the region of the Bend, perhaps an otherwise unknown rump state of the Hittite Empire or an extension of another, such as Karkemiš or Palastina. The following monuments will be organized by political unit, beginning with the monuments of Gurgum, followed by those of Sam'al.

The earliest known political monument from this region is the stele of Larama (I), ruler of Gurgum, dated to the first half of the 10th century BCE and discovered in a modern cemetery west of Maraş (Fig. 16; MARAŞ 8; Hawkins 2000: 252-255). The image depicts the ruler standing in a long garment and round cap with a curl of hair emerging from beneath and a beard extending to his chest. In his right hand is a short staff held before him and he rests his left hand upon his chest. The accompanying inscription, which runs across the image except for on his

hands and face, provides an early genealogy for the rulership of Gurgum extending back two generations, mentioning Larama's father, Muwatalli, and his grandfather, Astuwaramanza. Interestingly, none of these figures, including Larama himself, are provided with titles to clarify their positions within the institution of rulership of Gurgum. This appears in stark contrast with the hierarchical structure of the concluding curse formula, which describes consequences first for any king who should deface the monument, then for any country-lord, before breaking off. The text also provides an account of Larama's improvements of Gurgum, here defined as a 'river-land waste',[85] including the planting of vineyards, filling of granaries, establishment of gods, and probably the fortification of a settlement, suggested by the mention of 'this gate', where the stele probably stood (MARAŞ 8; Bonatz 2000: C 1).

Another later 10th century BCE monument of Gurgum comes in the form of a stele with a flat face, rounded back, and a lower tenon, discovered during modern road construction in Pınarbaşı in 2017 (Fig. 17). The flat face depicts a standing figure in a long robe and round cap, wearing a sword belted at his waist, and holding a drawn bow extended before him in his left hand. The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on the rounded back of the stele records only the genealogy of the illustrated figure; it says: "Muwizi, son of Larama (I), grandson of Muwatalli (I), great-grandson of Astuwaramanza" (MARAŞ 17; Denizhanoğulları, Güriçin, and Peker 2018). Just as in the inscription of his father, Muwizi does not provide titles for himself or his predecessors, and here Gurgum is not even named, giving the sense that the polity might still have been in a formative stage, ruled by an elite family that was only later defined as the founding dynasty.

[85] The text also appears to indicate that Larama comes from a river-land, but it is not clear whether this is the same place, or it is in reference to another riverine territory from which Larama came to find Gurgum in ruins.

A fragment of a large, granite(?) statue discovered in the modern city of Maraş in secondary context and dated to the mid-9th century BCE depicts another ruler of Gurgum, the figure preserved from the hips to knees, where the majority of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription appears to have been placed (Fig. 18; MARAŞ 4; Hawkins 2000: 255-258). The ruler wears a long robe with a tassel hanging from his waist and a sword hanging from a diagonal strap against his left hip, and remnants of a staff against his body suggest that one was held in his right hand. The inscription identifies the figure as "Halparuntiya (I), the just one, the Gurgumean king, son of Muwatalli (II), the just one," later adding that he is the great-grandson of Muwizi, establishing his reign in the sequence of earlier rulers of Gurgum. Importantly, Halparuntiya is the first Gurgumean ruler to ascribe himself a title and he chose that of a king.[86] The text goes on to describe Halparuntiya's military victories, asserting that he managed his authority over the conquered lands better than his predecessors, followed by a statement that he exalted his father, his grandfather, his great-grandfather, and his forefather, presumably through his success. It concludes by claiming that he exalted his own image through his victories, which also allowed him to seat himself upon the throne (MARAŞ 4).

Two monuments found around the citadel of Maraş in secondary context and dated to the end of the 9th century BCE also provide information about the Gurgumean administrative structure. An inscribed portal lion recounts the lengthiest genealogy on a single monument known from the region, including seven continuous generations (Fig. 19; MARAŞ; Hawkins 2000: 261-265). The author of the inscription is Halparuntiya (III), the just one, Gurgumean

[86] While Hawkins (2000) translated the term *tarwanis* as 'the ruler', Melchert (2019) has recently offered a convincing alternative that claims that the word should be read as an adjective *tarrawannis*, here in the substantive, 'the just one'. See also Giusfredi (2009), Oreshko (2018: 111), and Gerçek and d'Alfonso (2022) for more on the debate.

king; he illustrates his dynastic lineage by connecting himself to the dynastic founder, Larama (I). Notably, he qualifies each of his predecessors with an adjectival epithet or an administrative title: the governor Larama (II), the hero Halparuntiya (II), the brave Muwatalli (II), the just Halparuntiya (I), the hero Muwizi, and the governor Larama (I). Besides his own attribution as king, the only other title applied to his predecessors is governor. While this seems fitting for most previous rulers of Gurgum, who do not appear to have used a title for themselves, it is in direct opposition to Halparuntiya's (I) claim of kingship. The assertion that Larama (I) was also a governor is telling that the memory of the dynastic founder persisted for most of two centuries and was characterized by his administrative role, seemingly through the lens of the late 9th century BCE political institutions of Gurgum. It is also at this point that Gurgumean kingship appears to be assigned by the gods, who seated Halparuntiya (III) on the throne, gave him authority to settle and improve the land, and made him just, thus providing him the primary characteristics of a ruler (MARAŞ 1).

The second of these monuments is a fragment of a squared statue of a ruler, preserved from about the waist down (Fig. 20; MARAŞ 14; Hawkins 2000: 265-267). He is dressed in a long robe with a tassel hanging from his waist in the front and a sword hanging from a cord on his left hip. A staff was likely held in his right hand, as is suggested by a damaged line running down his lower body. The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on the statue identifies the figure as Astiwasus, Chief Eunuch of ruler whose name is not preserved. The text describes a gift from Astiwasus' lord – a precinct, which Astiwasus built up with craft-houses and in which he set up his monument. This is the only text that provides insight into the Gurgumean institution of the palace below the level of the ruler, and while the fragmentary inscription does not allow

synchronization with the reign of a particular ruler, the palaeography positions it around the end of the 9th century BCE (MARAŞ 14).

The last political monument from the region of Maraş is an inscribed bull statue dated to the mid-8th century BCE (Fig. 21). Its Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription was commissioned by Larama (III), described as the just one, Gurgumean king, and NINUTU, the last of which may be an otherwise unknown title. His genealogy is provided to two generations – he is son of Humamita and grandson of glorified(?) Larama (II), neither of which are provided with titles (MARAŞ 16; Denizhanoğulları, Güriçin, and Peker 2018).

The earliest known monument of Sam'al comes from the late 10th or early 9th century BCE. The uninscribed columnar statue of a standing male upon a double lion base was discovered along the southwest wall of Zincirli's Building J (Bonatz 2000: A 6; Fig. 4.22). The ruler appears in much the same way as the standing statues of Gurgum, wearing a long, fringed robe with a tassel hanging from the front of the belt; he likewise has a sword belted on his left hip and the remains of a staff extending from where his missing right hand would have been. As opposed to the squared Gurgumean monuments, however, this statue is rounded, suggesting a shared tradition of royal portraiture, but with locally distinct characteristics.

From the second quarter of the 9th century BCE comes the inscribed relief orthostat of Kulamuwa, from the same Building J, here located at the top of the steps into the *bit hilani* entrance (Fig. 23). The relief depicts king Kulamuwa in a wrapping, fringed robe, sandals, a pointed cap, and arm- and wristbands with rosettes. He stands with his left hand raised in the *ubana tarasu* gesture and his right hand holds a drooping lotus flower low and in front. Extending before his raised finger are a series of four divine symbols: the horned helm of Hadad,

the yoke of Rākib-El, the winged sun of Šamaš, and the moon of the Moon-god. Interestingly, the text references a different set of gods, these associated with individual rulers of the dynasty. In the Phoenician inscription, Kulamuwa describes his genealogy for three generations, connecting himself to the presumed founder of the dynasty, Gabbar. Importantly, Kulamuwa and his predecessors are described as ruling over Yadiya, not Sam'al, suggesting a plurality of names for the polity, perhaps used in particular contexts, or separate names for the polity, region, or group identity. He also notes that his brother Š'L ruled before him, suggesting the untimely death or removal of his predecessor. Quite unique about this inscription is Kulamuwa's references to parentage: he begins saying that he is the son of Hayya but concludes his genealogy by adding that he is (also?) the son of TML, perhaps his mother. If this interpretation is correct, it suggests that TML was either an important queen(-mother) or that Kulamuwa felt it important to include her here for another reason. One reason could be her ethnicity or tribal associations; the second half of Kulamuwa's inscription makes several references to two opposing groups that appear either to be two social or ethnic groups, or two political factions: the *muškabim* and the *ba'ririm* (Bryce 2012: 169; Schmitz 2013). Since Kulamuwa claims to have united these groups, it would make sense for him to include his mother in his text, if she had been a member of a different group than his father, thus indicating that he, Kulamuwa, was of both groups and their legitimate ruler. Finally, Kulamuwa describes his dynasty as one among many mighty kings, referring to a conflict with the more powerful king of the Danunians, against whom he engaged the king of Assyria. This claim illustrates the complex political landscape of the period, but also appears to subordinate Sam'al to the growing Assyrian empire (KAI 24; CoS 2.30; Tropper 1993: 27-28; Brown 2008a: 341-44).

The gate complexes of Zincirli are also dated to the mid-9th century BCE, though many of the relief orthostats appear to have been carved earlier, perhaps in the 10th century for nearby 'Neo-Hittite' settlement, and reused during the Iron Age foundation of the Sam'alian capital (Herrmann et al. 2016; Herrmann 2018). The reliefs include representations of chariot and other mounted warfare, hunting scenes with stags and lions, and processions of gods, men, and mythological creatures, and they are capped by portal lions and sphinxes (Fig. 24). The iconography is characteristically Near Eastern and Syro-Anatolian, with trees of life, a funerary banquet, and regionally important deities. Notably, the relief orthostats in the gate complexes do not include definitely royal scenes, as opposed to the reliefs in the *hilani* structures on the citadel mound, suggesting on the one hand a more explicit agenda of political expression within the most restricted areas of the site, and on the other hand the choice by the founding Sam'alian kings who constructed the visual narrative within the gates to define their political identity in adherence to regional traditions, albeit with certain local stylistic variations (von Luschan 1902; Orthmann 1971: 59-71; Wartke 2005; Pucci 2008; Herrmann 2017).

The relief orthostats of Sakçagözü, dated to the first half of the 8th century BCE, include typical scenes iconic of near eastern/Mesopotamian(?) kingship. While several orthostats include soldiers or officials in various activities, one scene in particular depicts what appears to be a royal figure, surmounted by a winged sun-disk and participating in a lion hunt, firing his bow from a chariot (Fig. 25). Alternatively, a figure at the other end of the scene, stabbing the lion with a spear, may in fact be the ruler, suggested by his cap that may in fact feature double horns, albeit quite worn (Orthamnn 1971: Sakçagözü B/1 and B/2; Akurgal 1961: 21-69). The identity of this figure, or even who might have ruled or governed at Sakçagözü, remains unknown;

however, the citadel may have been within the sphere of influence of the kingdom of Sam'al, suggested by similarities in relief orthostats reflecting a shared artistic tradition or a central authority. This suggests, then, that the depicted individual should be recognized as a subordinate ruler or appointed governor of the nearby citadel and perhaps surrounding territory.

Dating to the mid-8th century BCE is the massive, columnar statue of Hadad that was discovered at Gerçin, not far from Zincirli (Fig. 26). While the statue itself is identified as the Storm God, the text is written by king Panamuwa I, ruler of Yadiya, in the first person. In the Sam'alian Aramaic inscription, the ruler limits his genealogical description to his father, Qarli, but emphasizes his legitimacy otherwise through his claim of divinely supported rule: the gods gave Panamuwa the scepter of dominion, a symbol of Sam'alian kingship (von Luschan 1893: 44-52; KAI 214; CoS 2.36; Tropper 1993: 54-97).

The similar statue of Panamuwa II, preserved only from the waist down and discovered between Gerçin and Zincirli, is dated slightly later to the mid- to late 8th century BCE (Fig. 27). The statue was commissioned by the king's son and successor, Bar-Rākib, as is stated in the Sam'alian Aramaic inscription wrapping around the monument. Panamuwa II is once again described as the king of Yadiya and only extends his genealogy to his father, Barṣūr; however, this may be connected to his relationship with his family, rather than a disinterest in genealogical legitimacy. Bar-Rākib recounts that Panamuwa killed his father and seventy brothers of his father, likely a reference to other powerful elites connected to the institution of the palace in some way. Perhaps this Panamuwa disagreed with his father's policies, ones that might have been anti-Assyrian, perhaps suggested by the account of Panamuwa bringing a gift to the king of Assyria and his acceptance of subordinance, when he made Tiglath-pileser "king over the house

of his father." Panamuwa is described as a loyal subject and servant of the Assyrian king, resulting in a gift of territory including cities previously controlled by Gurgum. Bar-Rākib even asserts that his own position on the Sam'alian throne is owed to the loyalty of his father to Assyria, as well as his own (KAI 215; CoS 2.37; Tropper 1993: 98-139).

Two inscribed relief orthostats of Bar-Rākib, both discovered around the palace buildings on the mound of Zincirli, are dated to the late 8th century BCE. These depict the king standing in typical royal attire, holding a flower in his left hand and either a drinking cup in his right hand or with a closed fist. Both orthostats also display a series of divine symbols near the top of the relief. In one, these include the horned crown of Hadad, the yoke of Rākib-El, the five-pointed star in a double circle of Rašap(?), the winged sun of Šamaš, and the moon of the Moon-god, thus matching those of Kulamuwa, but with the addition of Rašap. In the other, he includes the horned crown of Hadad, the double-faced head with horned crown of El, the yoke of Rākib-El, the winged sun of Šamaš, and what appear to be several more poorly preserved symbols for other gods (Fig. 28). These appear to emulate Kulamuwa's pantheon in a similar way as his other orthostat, but with the addition of El, as opposed to Rašap, and what appears to be an extended group at the end – perhaps the patron gods of the early kings of the dynasty, who remain unillustrated elsewhere. The accompanying Aramaic inscriptions describe Bar-Rākib as the son of Panamuwa, king of Sam'al – NOT Yadiya – and servant of Tiglath-pileser III, retaining his subordinance to the imperial ruler. He also claims to have built a new palace, apparently to replace that of Kulamuwa, which had lasted through the reign of his father (KAI 216-217; CoS 2.38; Tropper 1993: 132-139).

Bar-Rākib also inscribed several smaller objects with political significance that must be mentioned here. First are several silver bars with a brief possessive inscription: "Of Bar-Rākib, son of Panamuwa," perhaps serving as prestige objects for displays of power. Additionally, the Sam'alian king had at least two signet rings in at least two different languages and scripts: one in Aramaic with the same inscription found on the silver bars; and one in Hieroglyphic Luwian expressing an Anatolianization of his name, "(of) Parakipas." This last is of particular interest as it suggests the persistence of the language and script in certain social or political contexts within Sam'al or in interactions with neighboring polities and communities. That Hieroglyphic Luwian was used internally is supported by the fragment of a lead strip letter found in the lower town and dated to the early 7th century BCE. Bar-Rākib's use of Sam'alian Aramaic, 'Official' Aramaic, and Hieroglyphic Luwian, in addition to his early predecessor's use of Phoenician, suggests a complex sociolinguistic landscape within the kingdom, one that was navigated or manipulated by certain kings through their selection of scripts and languages as expressions of political and cultural identity (KAI 218-221; Tropper 1993: 132-152).

The final monument from The Bend that should be included here is a late 9th century BCE stele set up by Adad-nerari III of Assyria near the village of Pazarcık in the region of Maraş (Fig. 29). The stele is a non-figural boundary stone depicting only a standard topped by a crescent moon and inscribed in Assyrian cuneiform, establishing the border between Ušpilulme, king of the Kummuhites, and Qalparunda, son of Palalam, king of the Gurgumeans. The inscription describes Kummuh's request for Assyrian aid, and Adad-nerari III's subsequent campaign against Ataršumki of Arpad along with eight other kings, who he caused to flee. The boundary favors Kummuh, confirming that the small kingdom was in the good graces of the

Assyrian empire, while Gurgum was reduced for their failure to acquiesce to Assyrian rule; recall also that Gurgum lost territory to Panamuwa II of Sam'al later in the following century, indicating the continuity of this trend. The reverse of the stele was later inscribed by Šalmaneser IV in the early 8th century BCE, reaffirming the border previously established and suggesting, again, the continuity of relationships between Assyria and the kingdoms of Kummuh and Gurgum (CoS 2.114B and 2.116; RIMA 3, A.0.104.3, 105.1).

4.3.3 Cilicia

Monumental representations from Late Bronze Age Cilicia are restricted to three royal rock-cut reliefs with short inscriptions consisting of name, title, and filiation of the represented king. Reliefs of the Hittite kings Muwatalli II and probably Mursili III were carved upon a rock face at the edge of settlement mound along the Ceyhan River (Eringhaus 1995; Kozal and Novák 2017; Marazzi, Guzzo, and Repola 2019; Fig. 30). A relief of a prince X-Tarhunta was carved upon a rock outcrop further north along the Ceyhan River near the village of Hemite, likely at another ancient crossing point (Archi 1971; Fig. 31). These monuments depict a single royal figure in profile with varying attire and held objects. Each of them fits within the typical Hittite, i.e., non-local, artistic tradition.[87]

The first Iron Age monument located in Cilicia that conveys a political message is the uninscribed Ferhatlı-Uzunoğlantepe rock relief, located just outside the city of Adana to the northeast (Fig. 32). Importantly, this weathered relief of a royal figure carved into a granite outcrop at the summit of a hill that dominates the surrounding landscape depicts a

[87] The rock relief at Keben has been excluded due to its unsure dating and peripheral location in Rough Cilicia.

characteristically Assyrian king. The figure wears a long, fringed, and wrapping robe, a pointed fez-style cap, a beard to his chest, and curly hair to his shoulders. In his left hand is a rod or scepter held before him, while is right hand is raised in what appears to be the *ubana tarasu* gesture beneath traces of unrecognizable divine symbols. Since the relief bears no inscription, the represented individual could be one of several Assyrian kings who reigned between the 9th and 7th century BCE, however an assignation to Šalmaneser III or Sargon II seems most probable, with the former being preferred by most scholars (Taşyürek 1975: 169-172; Börker-Klähn 1982: no. 235, p. 220; Rutishauser 2020: 129). If this dating is correct, the relief may have served as an iconographic model for later local rulers, perhaps providing a further explanation for the imagery chosen by the Hiyawan king Awarika in his late 8th century BCE statue (CİNEKÖY; below), which may even have been intended for presentation at Adana. In any case, the permanent presencing of a foreign king so near to what is believed to be an important Hiyawan urban center is illustrative of the power differential between Assyria and Hiyawa at the time of its construction, whether already at an early stage of Hiyawan political institutions during the reign of Šalmaneser III, or during a period of Hiyawan decline associated with Assyrian provincialization under Sargon II and subsequent rulers.

Inscribed political monuments of Iron Age Cilicia are only known from the 8th and perhaps the early 7th century BCE. The first of these monuments, dated to the early 8th century BCE and discovered in the vicinity of Adana, is a stele commissioned by Atika, a subordinate of Astiru, the Country-Lord of Karkemiš, known from the accompanying inscription (ADANA 1; Fig. 33). The stele depicts a Storm God of the Vineyard, and the inscription mostly pertains to the Anatolian god Tarhunza, for which, see the following chapter. While Atika's exact position

within the royal house of Karkemiš remains in question (Hawkins, Tosun, and Akdoğan 2013: 4-5), this monument suggests a Karkemišean political interest at the heart of Cilicia.[88]

A non-figural, inscribed, border stele discovered east of the Amanus in the region of Maraş, but composed by the Hiyawan king Awarika,[89] further illustrates the political landscape of Cilicia around 740 BCE, including another instance of foreign interest, this time from Tiglath-pileser III, king of Assyria (İNCİRLİ; Fig. 34). The stele is inscribed with a trilingual Luwian-Akkadian-Phoenician text that commemorates territorial gains of the kingdom of Hiyawa as a benefit of its relationship with Assyria. This eastern territorial extension was described as a gift from the Assyrian king to the king of the Danunians and his descendants/house. Later in the inscription Awarika is also described as the king of the house/descendants of Mopsos, the king of Que, (the king of) the entire Hittite district/province up until (Mount) Lebanon, and the servant of Tiglath-pileser III; thus, it appears that Awarika was the king of a land/polity (Que/Hiyawa), of an Assyrian province/district (characterized as Hittite), of a dynastic house (Mopsos), and of a people with a common group identity (the Danunians). His new territory is situated in the geopolitical landscape between the province/district of Beyond-the-River, Gurgum, perhaps Kummuh, and perhaps an additional 'Assyrian province/district'; together with the described interactions with Matiel, the king of Arpad and Aleppo, this depiction illustrates a political focus

[88] This stele was not discovered archaeologically. It was delivered by a local individual to the Adana Archaeological Museum and vaguely reported to have come from the Gaziantep region. While it is certainly possible that the monument was hauled across the Amanus mountains so that it could be handed over to the authorities, it seems more likely that it was discovered more locally, somewhere in the Cilician Plain, perhaps during elicit digging operations.
[89] Here, spelled Warrikus. In this interpretation, there is a single 8th century king Awarika of Hiyawa whose name is spelled with varied graphemes, however, it is possible that two separate kings existed (see esp., Simon 2014a and 2017).

towards the east and northeast, and thus regions under Assyrian administration (Kaufman 2007; Dodd 2012; Na'aman 2019).

A similar non-figural border stele inscribed with a Phoenician inscription dated to about the same time was discovered at the western end of the Amanian Gates between Zincirli and the Cilician plain (HASAN- BEYLİ; Fig. 35). The text describes the same Awarika as king of Adana, and mentions his palace, his cities, and his land. While the inscription is fragmentary, it appears that the king of Aššur made peace in Aleppo and united the kingdom with his own; however, from the preserved context, it is unclear whether the peace was made with Awarika or with the king of Aleppo and whether the united kingdom was that of Aleppo or Hiyawa (Lemaire 1983).

A statue attributed to the same king Awarika depicts the Storm God on a bull-drawn chariot, or perhaps an ambiguous amalgamation the god and the Hiyawan king (Lovejoy 2022), and bears a bilingual Luwian-Phoenician inscription (CİNEKÖY; Fig. 36). The text describes Awarika as the descendant of Muksas/Mopsos, the Hiyawan king, and (ruler of) the house of the land of the plain of Adana. It also details the subordinance of Hiyawa to Assyria as the king and house of Assyria became "father and mother" to Awarika and Hiyawa and Assyria/the Danunians and the Assyrians became one house (Tekoğlu et al. 2001; Orthmann 2022).

The inscriptions of Karatepe all date to the end of the 8th or beginning of the 7th century BCE. The famous bilingual Luwian-Phoenician inscription comes from the two gate complexes of ancient Azatiwadaya, and a Phoenician monolingual version was inscribed on the statue of the Storm God and/or Azatiwada that was positioned within the settlement just beyond the higher South Gate (KARATEPE 1; Younger 1998; Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000: 45-68; Fig. 37). The

texts describe (the ruler) Azatiwada's foundation of the settlement along with other deeds typical of a ruler. He claims the support of Awarika, the Adanawean king/king of the Danunians and descendant of the house Muksas/Mopsos, but otherwise appears to fall outside of the royal line of descent. The pictorial repertoire of the Karatepe gate complexes is incredibly diverse, comprising scenes of battle, feasting, and hunting, representations of mythological and divine creatures, mortal men and women, and nature, and lions and sphinxes standing as portal figures at the ends of each gate. Notable iconography includes the common Near Eastern trope of a tree of life flanked by goats, the Egypto-Phoenician deity Bes, apparently Greek hoplites and an Aegean-style naval ship, and a characteristically Syro-Anatolian funerary banquet scene. This assemblage of imagery provides limited insight into the political character of Hiyawa, primarily representing the polity's substantial cultural diversity, but even this choice to represent such an array of symbols and depictions was a part of Azatiwada's active construction of his own political identity and that associated with his reign (Bossert et al. 1950; Ussishkin 1969; Orthmann 1971: 105-110; Winter 1979; Younger 1998; Çambel 1999; Çambel and Özyar 2003; Özyar 2003). The other short and fragmentary inscriptions from the site provide entirely different information (Fig. 38). A reference to a River-Lord, perhaps the Hero of a different city (KARATEPE 3; Hawkins 2000: 68-70), and two separate references to a governor suggest an elaborate administrative system beneath the level of the ruler (KARATEPE Pho/S.I. a and b; Çambel 1999: 40-48).

4.3.4 Discussion

The transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in the northern Levant demonstrates a resilience of figural relief orthostats at the conceptual junction of royal and divine

with the depictions of Prince and Great Priest Tudhaliya and Princess Asnu-Hepa discovered in the temple of Ištar at Alalakh and of Taita and the Storm God in the latter's temple at Aleppo. This contrasts with the abrupt hiatus of figurative art in Cilicia, for instance, following the Late Bronze Age rock-cut reliefs of Muwatalli II and (possibly) Mursili III at Sirkeli Höyük, as well as the general lack of extant evidence for monumental productions in the Bend in both periods. Nowhere else in the Core Region are relief orthostats found until the foundation of Zincirli as the capital of the kingdom of Yadiya/Sam'al in the late 10th to early 9th century,[90] though the unexcavated capital of Maraş could provide other evidence. Likewise, relief orthostats do not appear in Cilicia until the later 8th century BCE, and then they are only known from the gate complexes of Karatepe.

In fact, following the reliefs from Aleppo, no other figurative *or* inscribed monuments are dated before the 10th century. At that time, figurative and inscribed stelae – often both on the same monument – were carved and erected in the Bend and the northern Levant. Two of these stelae are known from Maraş in the kingdom of Gurgum, likely coming from the capital itself, albeit both found in secondary context. In the northern Levant, these stelae were found near the Bay of İskenderun without secure context and to the north of Hama in what is certainly at least secondary context. Each of these belonged to the kingdom of Palastina, and some may have been earlier 9th-century productions, coinciding with the monumentalization of the capital at Tell Tayinat. Indeed, the monumentalization of political capitals and urban spaces appears to be the

[90] While no relief orthostats have been found in situ at Tell Tayinat, one at the Hatay Archaeological Museum is believed to have come from the site. This and the reliefs from Sakçagözü may all be contemporaneous with those of Zincirli (however, note Herrmann 2018 concerning the reuse of some orthostats at Zincirli), dating roughly from the late 10th to mid-9th centuries BCE.

impetus for other types of monuments, both figurative and inscribed, within the Core Region; this includes the aforementioned relief orthostats, as well as often inscribed statues in-the-round.

The earliest statues are dated to late 10th to mid-9th century and come from the northern Levant, specifically Tell Tayinat, and the Bend, found in and near the city of Maraş and the site of Zincirli.[91] While the political situation of Patina/Unqi, along with its traditions of monumental production, changed drastically between the 9th and 8th centuries, the kingdoms of the Bend continued to produce inscribed statues well into the 8th century, supporting the notion of political continuity within Gurgum and Sam'al. And it is only in this later period – the 8th century – that urban monuments emerge in Cilicia, both in the form of inscribed statues and relief orthostats at the site of Karatepe.

The period of the 9th to 8th centuries appears to represent a broad shift in the trends of monumental production within the northern Levant and, essentially by default, in Cilicia. Following the reduction in territorial extent of Patina/Unqi and its subsequent provincialization by Assyria, a return to a focus on the production of political stelae characterizes the northern Levant. The kingdoms of Bit-Agusi, Hamath and Lu'aš, and Assyria erected stelae, all inscribed and some figural, recounting military successes or defining territorial control.[92] In Cilicia, on the other hand, this period represents to reemergence of monumentality in the region following a long hiatus, first with intrusive works of Assyria and Karkemiš – an uninscribed rock relief and an inscribed and figural stele, respectively – and then with autochthonous productions of the

[91] This includes, most likely, also the fragment of what appears to be a statue from the site of Pancarlı. While the monument may have belonged to an otherwise unknown polity that preceeded Yadiya/Sam'al in the region, its proximity to Zincirli may allow one to consider it a part of the same development of monumental traditions.
[92] The building inscriptions of earlier 9th century Hama appear to be a separate tradition unique to the dynasty of Urhilina and Uratami.

rulers of Hiyawa, including non-figural stelae, inscribed statues, and inscribed and figural relief orthostats.

Notably, scripts attested upon political monuments of the Core Region do not appear to be directly related to any chronological development that might represent broad changes in language use,[93] nor to any purely geographical situations. Rather, the use of particular scripts appears to have been an active, likely politically motivated choice by particular rulers. All of the inscriptions of Palastina/Patina/Unqi were composed in Hieroglyphic Luwian, while the fragmented northern Levant of the later 9th and 8th centuries saw the inscription of monuments with texts in Aramaic and Assyrian, in addition to Hieroglyphic Luwian, coinciding with the emergence and intrusion of other polities. The kingdoms of the Bend represent two distinct trajectories of script and language selection for their political monuments. In Gurgum, only Hieroglyphic Luwian was used, while in Yadiya/Sam'al, a combination of Phoenician, Sam'alian, and Aramaic was employed variously by successive rulers from the mid-9th to late 8th centuries. And finally, in Cilicia, Hieroglyphic Luwian was first used upon the early 8th century Karkemišean stele and then also upon several later 8th century Hiyawan monuments, but always in conjunction with Phoenician. In fact, Phoenician appears to be the primary language of the kingdom, as it appears in primary position on its multilingual inscriptions, as well as alone on the few monolingual inscriptions of the polity. Quite uniquely, Hiyawa is also the only kingdom in the Core Region to produce bilingual inscriptions,[94] representing a distinct choice by its rulers to

[93] With, perhaps, the exception of Sam'al concerning the transition from Phoenician to Sam'alian and Aramaic.
[94] While the İNCİRLİ inscription is interpreted as a trilingual in its original analysis (Kaufmann 2007), the presence of Hieroglyphic Luwian is debatable, and the contemporaneity of the Phoenician and Assyrian texts is also uncertain. In any case, the stele certainly comprises an amalgam of scripts and cultural content representative of a complex political landscape in the second half of the 8th century BCE.

represent their political messaging in not only two languages but also in two visually distinct writing systems – one hieroglyphic and one alphabetic. The overlapping use of particular languages associated with sculptural monuments as products of distinct political institutions and in expressions of individual political identities illustrates the complex combination of elements that aided in the making of intersectional identities; while royal figures of separate polities may have been a part of the same or similar language communities, in some cases, their differing ideologies of kingship situated them in contrasting political communities with their own unique and composite identities.

4.4 Textual Sources: Factions and Political Diversity

Political institutions – past and present – are not concrete monolithic entities, but rather fluid, multifaceted amalgams of different groups of people in any given community. Both textual and material evidence from our period of concern illustrate this political diversity and suggest competition between opposing factions within the primary polities of the region. Membership within such a faction often appears to be a major component in expressions of political identity of various rulers seeking to distinguish themselves from predecessors or contemporaneous rulers with contrasting political ideologies and beliefs. Evidence from within the Core Region is supported by a substantial corpus of Neo-Assyrian sources related to interactions with the west, particularly campaigns, resource extraction, and resistance in the 9th century BCE, with the addition of vassal and provincial administration in the 8th and early 7th century BCE.

4.4.1 Northern Levant: Palastina/Patina/Unqi

The earliest sources from the kingdom of Palastina provide no insight into political diversity within the polity. The inscriptions from the temple of the Storm God at Aleppo (Hawkins 2011) and the ARSUZ stelae (Dinçol et al. 2015) are indicative of political relationships with other polities and suggestive of Palastina's strong political position, but the limited and fragmentary state of the texts allows for only an interpretation of a unified image of Palastinean kingship. The late 10th or early 9th century BCE ARSUZ stelae describe a Palastinean conquest of parts of Hiyawa; the reading of the text is somewhat ambiguous regarding the catalyst for the campaign, but it is possible that the Palastinean king was responding to some sort of rebellion, implying previous control of the region. If this was the case, then the Hiyawan repulsion of Palastinean rule would suggest the rise of an anti-Palastinean political faction within Hiyawa. Of course, it is entirely likely, and perhaps even probable, that much of Hiyawa was already opposed to the stronger Palastina and only previously submissive due to aggressive coercion. Granted this scenario is largely speculative, but these inscriptions provide the first evidence of conflicting political viewpoints within a region possibly under the control of a single polity.

We might similarly speculate about the changes that occurred to the potential territorial extent or influence of Palastina between the late 10th and early 9th centuries, particularly concerning the regions of Aleppo, Hama, and Pancarlı near Zincirli. Aleppo was certainly controlled by, or at least under the influence of, Palastina during the reign of Taita I, but was lost to Bit-Agusi by the beginning of the 9th century, which had its capital at nearby Arpad (Younger 2016: 501-548). The region around Hama may have belonged to Palastina during the 10th century under Taita II, if the find spots of the SHEIZAR and MEHARDE stelae (Hawkins 2000: 415-

419) – admittedly in found in secondary context – can be viewed as likely near their original placement, however, the region stood as an independent kingdom in the 9th century (Younger 2016: 425-500).[95] And lastly, parallels between the inscriptions of PANCARLI and TELL TAYINAT may indicate that Palastinean influence extended also to the north into the Bend until the foundation of the kingdom of Sam'al in the 9th century (Younger 2016: 373-424; Herrmann van den Hout, and Beyazlar 2016). If this political picture proves to have been accurate, then explanations for Palastina's fragmentation must be sought both externally, with the emergence of new polities during the Middle Iron Age, and internally, perhaps related to factions within the Early Iron Age polity. This fragmentation would also coincide with the foundation of the capital at Tell Tayinat, appearing to suggest a shift in the center of the polity, and also the beginnings of relations between Palastina, from then on referred to as Patina (or Unqi), and the expanding Assyrian empire.

When we first hear of relations between the kingdom in the Amuq and Assyria, it is in the context of Patinean submission. Labarna I, described as a man of Patina, paid tribute to the Assyrian king Aššurnasirpal II, including his niece and her dowery. Aššurnasirpal also took military hostages and occupied the Patinean city of Aribua, settling Assyrians therein, from which he launched campaigns throughout the land of Luhutu (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 71-82). While this description could not lead one to think that Labarna was pro-Assyrian, it is clear that he accepted subordination in this particular instance.

[95] However, Giusfredi (2018) disputes the reliability of the discovery of these monuments so far south from the Palastinean capital.

At the beginning of the reign of the Assyrian king Šalmaneser III, it appears that an anti-Assyrian faction held sway in Patina. Suppiluliuma II, who we know from his inscribed statue discovered at Tell Tayinat (TELL TAYINAT 4; Denel and Harrison 2018), fought against Šalmaneser III in a coalition with the rulers of Sam'al, Bit-Adini, Karkemiš, Que, Hilakku, Yasbuqu, and Yahanu (858 BCE). Šalmaneser claims to have defeated this resistance, capturing cities of Patina and extracting tribute from them (RIMA 3, A.0.102.1, 53-74). While the fate of Suppiluliuma is not explicit, his absence from later sources suggests that he was removed from any significant role. The destruction and burial of his statue at Tell Tayinat in the temple precinct appears to have been a ritual act of erasure, presumably committed by the Assyrian king. Additionally, the subsequent claim of Šalmaneser III that he destroyed the city Urime, a stronghold of *Labarna* – rather than one of Suppiluliuma – and set up a stele therein, supports the assertion that Suppiluliuma was intentionally forgotten by the Assyrian king (858 BCE; RIMA 3, A.0.102.3, ii 10b-13a; RIMA 3, A.0.102.3, 94b-99). While it is possible that Suppiluliuma was a usurper of the Patinean throne and Labarna was reinstated by Šalmaneser III, the receipt of tribute from Qalparunda, the Unqean, during the following year suggests rather a change in the controlling political faction with a pro-Assyrian ruler presiding, perhaps attached to the new name of the polity (857 BCE; RIMA 3, A.0.102.1, 92b-95). The subordinate political institutions of Patina/Unqi appear to have persisted through the rule of Qalparunda, who continued to pay tribute to Šalmaneser III at various intervals during the following decade, even while neighboring states, including previous allies, such as Karkemiš, Bit-Agusi, and Hamath, resisted Assyrian supremacy (857, 853, 848 BCE; RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, ii 84-102; RIMA 3, A.0.102.6, iii 11b-15).

About two decades later (829 BCE), Lubarna II, lord of Patina, was assassinated by what was likely an anti-Assyrian faction, who then assigned kingship to a 'non-royal' man named Surri. In response, Šalmaneser III sent his *turtanu*, Dayyan-Aššur, to depose Surri and appoint Sasi, son of Kurussa, as king. Sasi then paid tribute to Šalmaneser and setup a statue of the Assyrian king within the temple at the Patinean capital of Kunulua, thus confirming his loyalty and illustrating the shifting political landscape with pro- and anti-Assyrian factions vying for power within the political institutions of Patinean/Unqean rule (RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, 268-286a).

During the middle of the next century, Tutammu, king of Unqi, broke his loyalty oath with Assyria, providing Tiglath-pileser III with an excuse to capture the capital Kinalia and provincialize the region, extract booty and deportees including Tutammu and his eunuchs, and establish Assyrian governors over Unqi and Hatarrika, as well as other Levantine provinces. The Assyrian king also settled foreign captives in Patinean/Unqean cities, including the capital itself (RINAP 1: T-P III.12-15, 30, 42, 49 o 24-r 6; SAA 19, 55 and 96). These events illustrate the process of Assyrian provincialization of the northern Levant, and the remainder of the evidence regarding the political landscape of the region is restricted to information about Assyrian administration under the kings Sargon II (RINAP 2.105, ii 17-19; RINAP 2.106, iii 3-9a; RINAP 2.108; SAA 7, 116; SAA 11, 6; CTN 3, 86; SAA 1, 171), Sennacherib (SAA 6, 59, 43-4, 73-4, 177; SAA 6, 149), and Esarhaddon (SAA 2, 15), including the establishment of royal monuments, building projects, labor arrangements, transaction records, and governance, including the famous succession treaty of Esarhaddon found in the temple at Tell Tayinat.

4.4.2 The Bend: Gurgum/Marqas

No emic Gurgumean monuments illustrate anything but a unified political situation within the kingdom. It is only through contact with Assyria and from Assyrian sources that we learn of increasing factionalization within the Gurgumean polity. The first known interaction between Gurgum and Assyria appears during the reigns of Mutallu II and Šalmaneser III, ca. 858 BCE, the latter of which received tribute from the former in two consecutive years, including a daughter of Mutallu and her dowry in their first meeting (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, i 40-41a; RIMA 3, A.0.102.1, 92b-95). Several years later, the Gurgumean ruler Qalparunda II extended his predecessor's subservience, paying tribute to the Assyrian king once again (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, ii 84-102). Around the end of the century, however, it seems that Gurgum fell out of favor with Assyria; Qalparunda III remained subject to Adad-nerari III, but when the Assyrian king established a border between Gurgum and Kummuh, it was to the benefit of the latter and at Gurgum's expense (RIMA 3, A.0.104.3, 11-18).

This less beneficial relationship may have inspired the growth of an anti-Assyrian faction within Gurgum. During the mid-8th century BCE, the Gurgumean ruler Tarhulara participated in a coalition with Urartu and other kingdoms, rallying against Assyrian imperialism. Tarhulara was defeated and forced to pay tribute to Tiglath-pileser III on multiple subsequent occasions (RINAP 1: T-P III.9, 11, 35, 47 o 45-50); he also sent emissaries to Nimrud on at least one occasion, attesting to his continued forced subordination (SAA 19, 8 9-15). However, Tarhulara's son, Mutallu III, was apparently displeased with his father's policies; he assassinated his father during the reign of Sargon II, causing the Assyrian king to march on the Gurgumean capital of Marqas, defeat Mutallu, deport him and the royal family of the land of Bit Pa'alla, and establish a loyal provincial governor in the city (RINAP 2.3, 1-6a). That Sargon opposed

Mutallu's actions suggests that the new Gurgumean ruler was not supportive of his imperial overlord, perhaps indicating that Tarhulara was more pro-Assyrian or at least more accepting of his subordinate position. Alternative (and perhaps slightly later) accounts, however, describe Sargon II removing kingship from Tarhulara at the time when he annexed Gurgum into Assyria (RINAP 2.8, 10b-11a; 9, 26-27; 74, v 41-75;76, 26-27). These summary accounts may be confused or condensed with Tarhulara's brief resistance as a means of legitimating Sargon's conquest. The remainder of the information that we have on the political situation of Gurgum comes from Assyrian sources and reflects their imperial administration of the province, from Sargon's settlement of deportees in Marqas to sales documents and references to governors during the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (SAA 1, 257; Marqasu 01, 02, 27, 42; SAA 6, 45, 75-77, 98, 187-192, 197; Marqasu 15, 17, 28-29; SAA 6, 257-264).

4.4.3 The Bend: Yadiya/Sam'al

Even before the known emic sources for the kingdom of Sam'al were produced, we know that one of its early rulers opposed Assyrian expansion. Hayyanu fought in a coalition with other Syro-Anatolian polities against Šalmaneser III before eventually begin forced to pay tribute and submit (RIMA 3, A.0.102.1, 53-74). We know almost nothing about Hayyanu's son and successor, Š'L, but the subsequent ruler, Kulamuwa, another son of Hayyanu, provided the earliest emic textual evidence from the kingdom of Sam'al that has survived to the modern day. During his reign, the Sam'alian king claims to have requested aid from Assyria to fend off aggressions from the king of the Danunians in Hiyawa (KULAMUWA; KAI 24). This request is believed to have provided Šalmaneser III with the impetus for invading Cilicia, where he subordinated the polity and appointed a loyal vassal king from the local royal family. It is

curious that in both Sam'al and Hiyawa, a succession of brothers held their respective thrones with the second brother expressing loyalty to Assyria under Šalmaneser III and representing competing factions within local institutions of kingship (see the following section for the roughly contemporaneous transition from Kate to Kirri in Hiyawa); perhaps Kulamuwa's rise to power was supported by Assyria from the start, thus justifying his firm loyalty. Kulamuwa's inscription also describes two groups of people within Sam'al that may refer to political factions. Previous scholarship has suggested that the named groups – the *muškabim* and the *ba'ririm* – may signify differences in ethnicity or lifeway, indicative of Aramaeans and Luwians or of sedentary and mobile pastoralist components of society within Sam'al (Tropper 1993: 13; Lipiński 2000: 236; Schloen and Fink 2009: 10; Herrmann 2011: 32-33; Bryce 2012: 169; however, with more hesitation, see Brown 2008a: 345-6). In the last decade, these conceptions have been challenged on linguistic and philological grounds, on which Schmitz suggests political meanings for the terms related to suzerainty and vassal loyalty (2013: 78; most recently, see Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021). While Schmitz' proposal has not received widespread acceptance, his assertion that these terms may not pertain to ethnic or other social groups, but rather the political situation described by Kulamuwa has not been disputed. In this regard, it is worth postulating that the *muškabim* and the *ba'ririm* could, in fact, be groups with opposing political positions – the anti-Assyrian *muškabim* and the pro-Assyrian *muškabim*, or some other political division of the social body. Even these attributions would not necessarily refute ethnic associations, and it is entirely possible that these names represent complex group identities expressive of intersecting ethnicity and political faction. It is significant, then, that Kulamuwa claims to have united these disparate

groups – not in a relationship of parity, but in one in which the Sam'alian ruler brought the opposing faction into the fold and helped them to rise out of their previously poor situation.

A century later, Panamuwa II of Sam'al appears to remain loyal to Assyria, paying tribute to Tiglath-pileser III and sending emissaries to Nimrud (RINAP 1: T-P III.14-15, 26-7, 32, 35 iii 1-23 [=Iran Stele], 47 o 45-r 15 [=Summary Inscription 7]; SAA 19, 8 9-15). This loyal status persists through the reigns of Sargon II, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon with only limited references to provincial governors, administrative records, building projects, and sales documents (RINAP 2.82, vi 1-10 [=K 1672 i]; SAA 7 116, 136 r i 9; SAA 11 6; CTN 3 86; VA S 03566a; SAA 6 46-7, 91, 110, 193-6; VA S 03566; SAA 16 63 r 9-11); Esarhaddon also setup a victory stele at Zincirli (RINAP 4.98), and while it does not mention Sam'al, its creation and emplacement suggests that the site remained an Assyrian stronghold at the borders or well-controlled territory.

4.4.4 Cilicia: Hiyawa/Que

The earliest Iron Age evidence of Hiyawan political orientation comes from the Palastinean ARSUZ stelae (Dinçol et al. 2015). According to the inscriptions, Palastina succeeded against Hiyawa, perhaps conquering a city or region, implying that the Cilician polity stood, at least previously, in opposition to the kingdom in the Amuq. While there is no other emic evidence from either polity to suggest any lasting subordinance or vassalage of Hiyawa to Palastina, the descriptions of anti-Assyrian coalitions recorded by Šalmaneser III in his royal inscriptions suggest a cooperation between them at a minimum. In 858 BCE, Kate of Que – the Assyrian writing of Hiyawa – fought alongside several other Syro-Anatolian rulers against Šalmaneser III near a fortified city of the Patinean ruler, Sapalulme; the Assyrian king defeated

this coalition and subsequently extracted tribute from most of the participating polities (RIMA 3, A.0.102.1, 53-74). For nearly two decades, Hiyawa disappears from the historical record, apparently avoiding the ire of Šalmaneser III during his occasional westward campaigns, likely out of his reach. However, in 839 BCE, Šalmaneser III invaded Hiyawa with the support of "all the kings of the land of Hatti" – perhaps a reference to the conflict mentioned by Kulamuwa in his orthostat inscription. In the course of the decade and over several campaigns to Cilicia, Šalmaneser claims to have defeated Kate and installed Kate's brother, Kirri, in Tarsus as a (presumably loyal) king; Kirri then paid tribute to the Assyrian king in 831 BCE, indicating a shift in political policy of the kingdom of Hiyawa, even if forced (RIMA 3, 1.0.102.10, iv 22b-34a). Since Šalmaneser chose to appoint a local ruler from the same family as the previous king, who had rebelled against him, this may reflect a preexisting division within the Hiyawan royal family connected to opposing political factions in relation to Assyrian imperialism.

After about a century without information pertaining to the political landscape of Hiyawa, we benefit from several sources referring to Awarika/Urikki of Hiyawa/Que. In local textual sources, Awarika describes himself as loyal to Assyria, even referring to the two polities being made one and the Assyrian king, Tiglath-pileser III, being made father and mother to Awarika (CİNEKÖY; Tekoğlu et al. 2001; İNCİRLİ; Kaufmann 2007; HASAN- BEYLİ; Lemaire 1983). Tiglath-pileser III mentions Urikki twice as a tributary, supporting the notion that Hiyawa was subordinate and loyal to Assyria in the mid-8th century BCE (RINAP 1: T-P III.11; 14-15). Several letters dated to the same reign provide additional information pertaining to this relationship: two refer to officials working between the two polities, while one mentions horses, horse trainers, and captives from Que; the nature of these captives is unclear (SAA 19,

46; 54; 89, 21). While it is difficult to suggest continuity of a pro-Assyrian faction in control of Hiyawa, due to the century-long hiatus of sources, the strong statements of loyalty made by Awarika do nothing to dissuade such a likelihood, whether connected with the administration of Šamši-ilu in the west during the intervening time or perhaps to a distant memory of Hiyawan-Assyrian relations, nowhere explicitly described; such a continuity is, of course, largely conjectural, and the choices of Awarika may simply reflect his own distinct political reality in the mid- to late 8th century BCE.

Under Sargon II, in the late 8th century BCE, it seems that an Assyrian governor was appointed in addition to the reigning local Hiyawan king, still Urikki at the start of Sargon's reign. Sargon II describes several developments that suggest the persistence of Hiyawan loyalty in the early years of his rule, namely the liberation of several Quean cities, previously captured by Mita of Muški, the settlement of deportees in the region, and a number of building projects, including a temple or shrine for an unknown goddess, as well as towers and a city wall for an unknown settlement, all under the direction of the governor (RINAP 2.1, 117b-126; SAA 1, 110 [=SAA 19, 159]; SAA 1, 251). However, one letter also describes an embassy sent by Urikki to Urartu, an act that was clearly at odds with Assyrian policy (SAA 1, 1 [=SAA 19, 152]). This suggests the beginnings of Hiyawan dissatisfaction with the results of their loyalty to the empire, perhaps due in part to the increasing power and control of the Assyrian appointed governor, which quite probably reduced the power and autonomy of the institution of local Hiyawan kingship. It may be at this time, that Azatiwada from the KARATEPE inscriptions rose up in opposition to Assyrian imperialism, perhaps directly opposing the Assyrian governor of Que. It is at least clear from the dichotomy between CİNEKÖY and KARATEPE, i.e., between the

previous policies of Awarika and the following policies of Azatiwada, that the two rulers represented opposing political factions with pro- and anti-Assyrian positions, at least for the majority of their reigns (Lovejoy 2022).

From the limited sources pertaining to Cilicia and dated to the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon of Assyria, it seems that the institution of the Assyrian governor of Que persisted well into the 7th century BCE, while the institution of Hiyawan kingship no longer existed in a unified state (SAA 6, 171; SAA 16, 71). However, it seems that a local resistance to the yoke of Assyria persisted, encouraging Sennacherib to deport an element of the population to Niniveh to aid in the construction of his palace (RINAP 3/1.1, 70-72), thus suggesting a continuity of an anti-Assyrian faction within the political body, even without the overarching political institution. Esarhaddon refers to multiple kings in Cilicia: one in Tarsus, who paid tribute, and one from Kundi and Sissu named Sanduarri, perhaps an Assyrian understanding of Azatiwada or his successor, who allied with the king of Sidon against Assyria, thus leading Esarhaddon to catch and execute the opposing rulers (RINAP 4.60, o 9b-11a; 1, iii 20-31, 47-55). This political fragmentation of Hiyawa may reflect the results of a process of increasing factionalization following the rule of Awarika and the increased activity of the Assyrian governor in Cilicia. The more hands-on approach of the Assyrian kings and governors from the reign of Sargon II onward appears to have instigated the rise in prominence and persistence of the opposing faction in the land of Hiyawa.

4.4.5 Discussion

Only from the 9th century onwards is there certain evidence of political factions within the polities of the Core Region, nearly all clearly associated with allegiance to or resistance

against Assyria and its imperial interventions in the west. These factions appear to have consistently emerged within ruling families as a product of internal division and competition for positions of authority. While the majority of our evidence for such processes of factionalization within the Core Region comes from Assyrian sources, similar strategies of vying for power within royal families through changing and competing political allegiances was already well known throughout the wider region in the Late Bronze Age, e.g., the political infighting between Hattusili III and Mursili III of Hatti (Bryce 2005: 259-265), or between Šattiwaza and Šuttarna III of Mitanni (Beckman 1996: No. 6), and perhaps even the ascension to the throne of Alalakh by Idrimi following the conflict that occurred in the house of his father at Aleppo (Lauinger 2015). There need not be any interpretation of a continuity of political practices, but rather an understanding of a common means of acquiring power evident on occasion, especially at times of intense political interactions. While evidence for political factions within the Core Region coming from emic sources is limited, the inscription of the Sam'alian king Kulamuwa suggests a similar fracture within the (likely elite) population of the polity, albeit with an unclear division and motivation. Lastly, we might speculate about the cause of the eventual political fragmentation of the northern Levant as not only the product of rising foreign powers, but also to possible internal divisiveness within the expansive kingdom of Palastina. At the least, the polities of the Core Region during the Iron Age (and in fact all polities) should not be imagined as ideologically unified, but rather internally fragmented, often unaligned, and only bound together when broadly beneficial to the majority of parties within.

4.5 Textual Sources and Monumental Imagery: Political Identity and Ideologies of Kingship

Individual rulers of the polities found within the Core Region actively expressed political identities through their textual, material, and iconographic compositions. These monuments produced the ideologies and images of kingship that each respective ruler wished to convey to their subjects, their neighbors, and the gods (Frankfort 1978; de Maret 2011 with reference therein). Rulers combined semiotic elements with the content of their inscriptions in selected scripts to communicate specific messages of political identity. Through an examination of the identities selected and expressed by individual rulers, one can identify traditions within and shared between polities, as well as changes in the institutions of kingship between the reigns of subsequent rulers.

4.5.1 Palastina

While monumental products of the kingdom of Palastina span three centuries, from the 11th to the 9th, they only represent small windows into the continuous development of Palastinean kingship, each monument bearing unique expressions of political identity constructed by various rulers. Contrary to that of the other polities attested in the Core Region, local kingship in the northern Levant is indicative of an intentional continuity of certain Hittite traditions.[96] This Late Bronze Age legacy can be identified in certain semiotic elements, especially on the early monuments of the polity, as well as in many of the names and titles selected by various rulers throughout the duration of the polity's existence. Similarly, distinct from the other polities in the

[96] However, note the resumption of several Hittite traditions within the Gurgumean institution of kingship during the 10th century BCE, perhaps derived from Palastina or another Hittite rump-state.

region, Palastinean kingship appears to have ended by the 8th century BCE, the period when other polities in the wider region increased their own monumental production and developed new and complex expressions of political identity. In the case of the northern Levant, it appears that the region became politically fragmented, and the polity centered around the Amuq was reduced in power and autonomy to an extent that has denied any interpretations of the political identity constructed by its later rulers, at a time when others referred to the polity as Patina or Unqi.

In the 11th century BCE, the founder of the kingdom, Taita I, commissioned a representation of himself or his kingship, and placed it alongside a similar representation of the Storm God in the deity's temple at Aleppo (Kohlmeyer 2009; Hawkins 2011). The king is depicted facing to his right, standing with his left arm resting across his midsection and his right arm raised so that his closed fist sits before his mouth in what is likely a supplicating gesture. This stance appears to mimic that of Prince and Great Priest Tudhaliya illustrated on an orthostat found in the Ištar temple at Alalakh and dated to the late 14th or 13th century BCE (Yener 2017). However, while Tudhaliya was adorned in a long robe and rounded cap or headband, Taita I wears a simple, belted tunic with short skirt and a conical hat; he also wears a close-cropped beard and undefined hair that hangs to his upper back. While the image of Taita may be compared with that of the Late Bronze Age Tudhaliya from at least two centuries prior or with that of Suppiluliuma I from the ARSUZ stelae dated at least a century later (Fig. 39), it must be understood that the Palastinean institution of kingship stood as a chronological and regional isolate in its early stages, with only the more distant kingdoms of Karkemiš and Malatya as contemporaneous comparanda, and even these polities lack the production of royal portraiture in this early stage. In fact, since the relief from Alalakh appears to have been displaced and

obscured from view already in the 13th century, it should not be considered a *visual* inspiration for the later relief of Taita, but perhaps represents a conceptual or iconographic resilience, a preserved memory of the traditions of depicting royal figures in cultic context.[97]

Two depictions of Suppiluliuma I of Walastina exist upon the pair of stelae discovered on the southern coast of the Bay of İskenderun and dated to the late 10th or 9th century BCE (Dinçol et al. 2015). In both reliefs, the king is guided by the Storm God, who grasps the king's raised left wrist; the king holds a stalk of grain high above his head and a bunch of grapes before him in his right hand. Also, in both portraits, the king wears a short curly beard and curly hair extending to his shoulders and not covered by any cap or headdress. Separating the two royal images is the king's attire: in ARSUZ 1, Suppiluliuma wears a belted tunic with short skirt and simple, undefined shoes or boots; in ARSUZ 2, he wears a long, belted robe and bare feet. The illustration of the king's feet match those of their respective accompanying Storm Gods and may be interpreted as artistic differences between two stone-carvers, perhaps with different interpretations of written or oral instructions.[98] The difference in attire, however, is specific to the two kings only. It is possible that the two versions of the king were meant to represent different roles of the king, though the mostly matching inscriptions upon both monuments do not allow for a more specific interpretation. It is similarly possible that two artisans had different understandings of the way in which royal figures should be depicted, perhaps with one differentiating between royal and divine garments. Lastly, these two monuments may reflect a period of experimentation in Palastinean political identity during which Suppiluliuma I sought to

[97] The possibility that Palastinean royalty did in fact see the relief of Tudhaliya still exists, but an interpretation connected with the continuity of the Alalakh elite or its cults within the communities of Palastina appears to be the more likely explanation for the preservation of traditions.
[98] Alternatively, the choice to depict the feet unadorned on one stele may serve some unknown ideological purpose.

distinguish himself from other rulers, past and present, with his royal image and with his unique connection to the Storm God (Fig. 40).[99] In this vein, parallels with the attire worn by kings of Gurgum and Sam'al, who were almost always depicted in long robes, may suggest an attempt by Suppiluliuma I to fit within the particular pictorial (political!) landscape constructed by the kings to the north, while his depiction in a short, belted tunic would then have served to preserve the previous tradition of his predecessor, Taita, the founder of his kingdom, itself a continuity of previous Hittite traditions of royal portraiture.

The similarly dated, perhaps slightly later, monumental statue of a ruler found at Tell Tayinat may represent a Halparuntiya mentioned in the fragmentary inscription upon the destroyed monumental throne found in the same area (TELL TAYINAT 1; Hawkins 2000: 365-267). Regardless of the particular identity of the illustrated figure, several features of the monument may represent a new political identity adopted by the later Palastinean kings and further developments in the institution of kingship within the polity. While only the head of the statue is preserved, it demonstrates changes in royal portraiture, perhaps largely associated with the new medium of representation: the figure wears no cap or headband in much the same way as Suppiluliuma I, but rather has a mushroom-shaped mass of hair composed of large curls with no extension beyond his neck and a close-cropped curly beard;[100] additionally, the figure's eyes appear as empty sockets, almost certainly intended for the insertion of other materials, as is the case of the later statue of Suppiluliuma II (Fig. 41). If we can interpret this statue as that of

[99] For other differences between the two ARSUZ stelae, see Section 5.4.1 for implications connected with the Storm God and his cult.

[100] This tradition of depicting a ruler without headwear and with hair stylized in uniform curls can also be found on an orthostat depicting Katuwa of Karkemiš, dated to the late 10th or early 9th century BCE (KARKAMIŠ A13d; Hawkins 2000: 115-116; Orthmann 1971: Karkemis K/28).

Halparuntiya I, then this king sought to depict himself in stark contrast to other rulers of the late 10th or early 9th century BCE in the Syro-Anatolian region. However, it is also possible that the association of the figure with an elaborate throne, may indicate that it represents a dead king, perhaps Halparuntiya or one of his predecessors. If this is the case, then we may interpret the development of a royal ancestor cult associated with the institution of Palastinean kingship, perhaps begun with the funerary stelae of Taita II and Kupapiya earlier in the 10th century BCE (for which, see Section 5.4.3).

The mid-9th century BCE statue of Suppiluliuma II appears to continue the pictorial traditions of Halparuntiya, but the greater state of preservation provides more clues to this stage of development (TELL TAYINAT 4; Denel and Harrison 2018). The king wears his hair in much the same way as the previous ruler, massed in a dome of large curls, but his beard is represented by tighter curls, which protrude slightly further from his face. He seems to wear a simple tunic, though the statue is lost below the middle of his torso; he is adorned with lion-headed wrist- and armbands, as well as a large torc or necklace. Suppiluliuma's arms are bent forward at the elbows, and he holds what appears to be a stalk of grain in his left hand and a blade, perhaps a spear point with the staff lost below, in his right hand. The semiotic elements of this statue may reflect a combination of features from previous kings: while the hair is most likely a continuation of the style first seen in the statue of Halparuntiya, the beard appears most similar to that of Suppiluliuma I on the ARSUZ stelae, perhaps the namesake of this very king; additionally, Suppiluliuma's possession of a stalk of grain, and perhaps a speculative bunch of

grapes lost below his fist,[101] may be an adaptation of the his predecessor's illustration bearing the divine symbols of the Grain-god and Wine-god upon the same stelae (Fig. 42).

The earliest extant inscriptions of the kingdom of Palastina are those of Taita I at the temple of the Storm God at Aleppo (ALEPPO 6 and 7; Hawkins 2011). Both inscriptions identify the king as 'Hero' and 'Palistinean King'; while the latter term defines the king's political affiliation, the former is an honorific previously used by kings of the Hittite empire. Reflecting on later Palastinean traditions, we might consider the absence of any genealogy in Taita's inscription as substantiating evidence that he was, in fact, the founder of the dynasty and kingdom. In the remainder of the inscription of ALEPPO 6, Taita defines his relationship with the Halabean Storm God and his temple, seeming to declare his kingship(?) as a product of that relationship. In the fragmentary ALEPPO 7 inscription, he positions himself among the great powers west of the Euphrates, referring to Karkemiš and perhaps Egypt in what might be a context of exchange or conflict.

Suppiluliuma I continues his predecessor's tradition of titulary in his ARSUZ inscriptions, proclaiming himself 'Hero' and 'Walastinean King', and adding one generation of genealogy, naming his father king Manana (Dinçol et al. 2015). He claims to have inherited his father's kingship but surpassed him and his ancestors in his conquest of Cilicia; at the same time, he benefited his territory by improving the economic situation and settling the land. However, Suppiluliuma did not claim to have accomplished his deeds completely under his own power, but rather credited the gods: specifically, the Storm God, the Grain-god, and the Wine-god.

[101] Much like the way elite individuals are represented with both agricultural goods in the same hand upon funerary stelae (e.g., Bonatz 2000: C 12, C 21, C 22, C 42, and C 56) and at least one orthostat (Schloen and Fink 2009: 215) in the Bend.

Suppiluliuma I elaborated upon the existing institution of Palastinean kingship, but continued the core principle of divine legitimacy. It is also worth noting the use of the king's name, Suppiluliuma, a name used by two Hittite kings, including the last king of the empire.

The inscribed throne of Halparuntiya is only preserved in a few small fragments, but a few remarks may be made (TELL TAYINAT 1; Hawkins 2000: 365-367). The name of the presumed king seems to adapt the established Hittite legacy, combining the local north Syrian toponym of Halab with the Luwo-Hittite theonym (Ku)runtiya. Additionally, a fragment names a 'Walastinean' something, perhaps 'king' in the same way that his predecessors named themselves. In all, the fragments attest to a continuity in the stream of development in the institution of Palastinean kingship.

In his own inscription, Suppiluliuma II provides little information pertaining to Palastinean kingship or his own political identity (TELL TAYINAT 4; Denel and Harrison 2018). In what is preserved, the ruler describes what appears to be a military victory, an arrangement of land, and a commemoration for his father. This last, at least, maintains the earlier tradition of genealogical concern, albeit without the paternal name preserved. His name, also, sustains the memory of his predecessor and continues the legacy of the Hittite kings.

All of the preserved monumental inscriptions of the kingdom of Palastina were composed in the Hieroglyphic Luwian script and language, a feature that further alludes to a remembrance of Late Bronze Age Hittite traditions of monumentality within the institution of kingship. Alongside the persistence of Hittite royal names, perhaps inspired by already local traditions attested at Alalakh with the Great Priest and Prince Tudhaliya, and semiotic elements employed in the figurative reliefs of the early kings of Palastina, the selection of script and language

strongly suggest an attempt by Palastinean kings to legitimate their rule through their political succession from the Hittite empire.

In the same vein, the importance given to Kupapiya in the 10th century BCE SHEIZAR stele of Taita II (Hawkins 2000: 416-419) and to the female figure monumentalized in the uninscribed statue found near the 9th century BCE statue of Suppiluliuma II (Harrison et al. 2018) may reflect the continuation of a local tradition of royal pairs. While the evidence is admittedly limited, the proximity and availability of the relief orthostat in the temple of Ištar at Alalakh, which depicts Tudhaliya alongside the Princess Asnu-Hepa and stood in the longest lasting part of the settlement (Yener 2017), appears already to have inspired certain features used in constructing the earliest form of Palastinean kingship. This is not to suggest that Palastinean kingship was a continuation of the institutions of rule that existed at Alalakh before its decline, but that components of the Palastinean ruling elite appear to have had intimate knowledge of the former institutions of local/Hittite royal display, and some may have even descended from the Alalakh elite in the first place. It certainly provided the Palastinean kings with an avenue for distinguishing themselves from their neighbors with a unique political identity that featured important female figures alongside their male counterparts.

In sum, the monuments of the Palastinean kings illustrate a continuity and an adaptation of local and Hittite institutions of kingship and traditions of royal display. Individual political identities are difficult to discern from the products of each ruler, but one moment of substantial differentiation appears to be the 10th century BCE. Taita I, as the founder of the kingdom Palastina, has no immediate comparison and his preserved political identity is entirely attached to his control of the temple of the Storm God at Aleppo. On the contrary, the monuments of the 10th

century BCE, including also the texts of Taita II of Walastina, illustrate a more developed political identity: the name of the kingdom is mostly standardized, kings are represented without headwear and with progressively more standardized attire and hair, divine legitimacy is consistent, and the militaristic and beneficent roles of kings are institutionalized. Each ruler emphasized small differences in their rule and royal portraiture, but a continuity of tradition appears to be emphasized above innovations within the dynasty. This fact alone set the political identity of the rulers of Palastina apart from their immediate neighbors, who rose in political strength with substantial political diversity and frequent changes, at the same time as Palastina fell into decline and was absorbed into the spreading Assyrian empire.

4.5.2 Gurgum

The rulers of Gurgum produced monuments, which expressed their individual political identities and the evolving institution of Gurgumean kingship, throughout the 10th to 8th century BCE; only three monuments explicitly depict rulers, however, an additional portal lion and bull statue include inscriptions by two later rulers that provide some insight into their own identities and ideologies of kingship. Gurgum is a peculiar case in that it illustrates some legacies from the Hittite empire, but mostly seems to demonstrate the development of local Anatolian traditions, likely with an awareness of institutional developments in the neighboring polities of Palastina and Karkemiš, perhaps the conduit for the resumption of Hittite traditions in Gurgum itself.

In the first half of the 10th century BCE, Larama I founded the dynasty that would rule Gurgum until its incorporation into the Assyrian empire in the mid- to late 8th century BCE, and commemorated his achievement with a monumental stele depicting himself and describing his deeds (MARAŞ 8; Hawkins 2000: 252-255). The image shows the ruler standing in a long,

fringed robe and round cap, with a chest-length, squared beard and curled toes. He holds a shoulder-height staff before him in his right hand and his left hand sits across his midsection in a fist or perhaps holding a wrapping portion of his robe with two fingers. This specific combination of features appears to be a local innovation, not seen elsewhere in neighboring regions until at least later in the same century, when it appears that Katuwa of Karkemiš adapted several features for his own monumental representation, which includes a similar robe, a staff held in his right hand, albeit against his body, and hair shaped much like Larama's round cap (KARKAMIŠ A13d; Hawkins 2000: 115-116; Orthmann 1971: Karkemis K/28; Fig. 43). While his is the only Gurgumean stele with this composition of semiotic elements, certain features can be found in later royal statues and elite funerary stelae from the region: most commonly his robe and cap, but also his staff, which may be a symbol of rule, governance, or elite status.

Later in the 10th century BCE, the ruler Muwizi commissioned a stele with his own image on one face (MARAŞ 17; Denizhanoğulları, Güriçin, and Peker 2018). He wears similar attire to his predecessor, including a long, fringed robe, a round cap, and curled toes. However, instead of a staff, Muwizi holds a drawn bow in his extended left hand and a sword belted on his hip. While the representation of a ruler with a bow is incredibly common in earlier Hittite rock reliefs, as well as in many later Gurgumean funerary stelae, Muwizi's posture with the bow drawn is distinct, and perhaps represents a period of experimentation and an attempt to emphasize his might and military prowess as the primary features of his political identity through his dynamic portrait (Fig. 44). The inclusion of a sword upon the figure's hip is common in the same earlier and later monuments, and likewise may have served as an allusion to the role of the king as warrior, a component of Gurgumean kingship that is seldom expressed in textual accounts.

Halparuntiya II commissioned a statue of himself in the mid-9th century BCE; a fragment of the lower body extending from hips to knees is preserved (MARAŞ 4; Hawkins 2000: 255-258). The figure is dressed in a long robe, belted at the waist, with a long tassel hanging from the front of the belt; he wears a sword hanging from a strap on his left hip and remains of a staff indicate that one was held in his right hand close to his body. A full-figure EGO sign beginning the accompanying inscription suggests that the figure's robe was fringed and that he wore a round cap like his predecessors did; the right hand of the EGO figure appears against his chest in a closed fist or holding an edge of the wrapping robe, much like in the image of Larama I from the previous century (Fig. 45). In all, the representation of Halparuntiya appears to demonstrate a continuity of aesthetic traditions associated with the institution of kingship developed by the dynastic founder, with semiotic and formal innovations indicative of changing regional standards, but also the unique political identity expressed by the first Gurgumean ruler to describe himself as king.

In the earliest known inscription of Gurgum, Larama I positions himself as the savior of the polity, describing the poor state in which he found Gurgum, his improvements of the land, and his establishment of the gods therein (MARAŞ 8; Hawkins 2000: 252-255). Larama includes his genealogy extending two generations before him, a feature which is institutionalized and often elaborated by later rulers. He provides no titles for himself, nor his predecessors, hinting at the formative state of Gurgumean kingship and suggesting that the polity was not directly descended from the Hittite royal lineage and was likely politically inferior to the surrounding Hittite rump-states of the 10th century BCE. This assertion – that the Gurgumean ruler probably did not view himself as a proper king – is supported by the hierarchical curse formula that

concludes his inscription. In it, he describes the punishments that should befall "any king" or "any country-lord," who defaces his monument, before the final break of the text; this hierarchical format is reminiscent of the inscription of Taita I of Palastina from the temple of the Storm God at Aleppo (ALEPPO 6; Hawkins 2011), and may have been inspired by it. Thus, Larama I was fully aware of institutions of kingship and rule that existed in the wider region, but did not choose to include himself in them by using common titles. Instead, he opted to create a unique political identity for himself without titulary and with an emphasis on paternal descent.

The inscription of Muwizi provides minimal information pertaining to his own political identity, but demonstrates continuity in the institution of Gurgumean rule (MARAŞ 17; Denizhanoğulları, Güriçin, and Peker 2018). His short text presents a three-generation genealogy beginning with his father Larama I and extending through the same predecessors included in his father's inscription. Similarly, Muwizi provides no titles for himself or his ancestors.

Halparuntiya II similarly includes genealogical references, but does so in a more selective fashion (MARAŞ 4; Hawkins 2000: 255-258). While he describes himself as the son of Muwatalli II, he only later notes that he is the great grandson of Muwizi; there is no mention of his grandfather between those two. He also strays from the previous traditions of Gurgumean rulers by titling himself as "the just one, the Gurgumean king," and providing his father with the same adjectival epithet, "the just one." Strikingly, Halparuntiya II describes his military victories and the violence that he bestowed upon the conquered inhabitants. Haplaruntiya's elaboration of his campaign is unique among the royal inscriptions of Gurgumean rulers and would fit well within the traditions of Assyrian kings, perhaps suggesting a reception and adaptation of the annalistic traditions institutionalize within the Neo-Assyrian empire. He claims to have surpassed

his predecessors through his military might, and in doing so, exalted them and himself, legitimating his rule. Halparuntiya clearly sought to distinguish his own political identity from those of his predecessors, while bringing the institution of Gurgumean kingship to a form more comparable to those of the developing polities in the increasingly diverse political landscape of the Syro-Anatolian region.

The inscription on the portal lion of Halparuntiya III, dated to the end of the 9th century BCE, describes his actions to improve and settle the land of Gurgum and provides the longest continuous genealogy of any dynasty within the Core Region, extending seven generations from the current ruler to the dynastic founder, Larama I (MARAŞ 1; Hawkins 2000: 261-265). Halparuntiya III titles or epithets for all rulers named in his inscription. He named himself 'the just one, Gurgumean king' in much the same way as his ancestor of the same name. He described his father, Larama II, and the dynastic founder, Larama I, as governors, clearly defining their role in governance, but distinguishing himself as something more. The title/epithet 'hero' was assigned to Halparuntiya II and Muwizi, 'the just one' was given to Halparuntiya I, and Muwatalli II was designated 'the brave'. The variety of titles seems intentional, especially considering that many of them were not used in any previous inscriptions by the named kings. While the use of 'the just one' appears to be a simple continuity of local Gurgumean traditions, two of the other titles deserve further investigation. 'Hero' was a title used by Hittite kings of the Late Bronze Age, but also by the Iron Age kings of the Hittite rump-states Karkemiš, Malizi, and Palastina, suggesting a resumption of historically Anatolian traditions through the Hittite legacy preserved in the Early Iron Age polities of the Syro-Anatolian region. The use of 'governor' is also striking – the position seems to emerge in Core Region around this time, i.e., late 9th century

BCE, appearing also in the northern Levant (JISR EL HADID fragments; Hawkins 2000: 378-380) and later in Cilicia (KARATEPE Pho/S.I. a and b; Çambel 1999: 40-48), and increasingly used by Assyrian kings to refer to subordinate rulers of their provincial holdings. In the Syro-Anatolian region, these terms occurred in the Luwian language as vestiges of the Hittite political structure, found most commonly during the Iron Age in the Upper Euphrates and south central Anatolia. This process of resilience and continuity may be the impetus behind its use in Gurgum, but the term only (re)appeared later in Cilicia and the northern Levant, perhaps responding to a need for greater resolution of political titulary beneath the level of king or country-lord during a period of increased political complexity in the face of Assyrian expansion. Lastly, Halparuntiya's concern for his legitimacy must be noted. Not only does he construct a lengthy patrilineal genealogy extending from him all the way back to the founder of the kingdom and dynasty, but he also proclaims his divine legitimacy, crediting his position and deeds to a short list of deities. While this is common elsewhere in the wider region, divine legitimation is an innovation within the institution of Gurgumean kingship, albeit one that does not seem to become institutionalized in the traditions adhered to by later kings. Thus, Halparuntiya's individual political identity is one of elaboration, if not divergence from those of the previous rulers of Gurgum.

The last royal inscription of a Gurgumean king comes on the bull statue of Larama III, dated to the mid-8th century BCE (MARAŞ 16; Denizhanoğulları, Güriçin, and Peker 2018). Larama describes himself in the now customary Gurgumean way as 'the just one, Gurgumean king', but with the addition of an otherwise unknown title: 'NINUTU(?)'. He also includes a two-generation genealogy with his father, Humamita, and his grandfather 'the glorified(?)' Larama II. Larama III mostly adhered to the inscriptional traditions of Gurgumean kingship, with

his genealogy following that established by dynastic founder and his namesake, Larama I, and his titulary following the later developments of his more recent predecessors. His addition of the presumed title 'NINUTU(?)' suggests an attempt to construct his own political identity, or at least distinguish it slightly from that of his predecessors, but does not allow further interpretations.

The entire corpus of Gurgumean royal inscriptions was composed in the Hieroglyphic Luwian script and language. While this may seem to allude to a legacy of Hittite imperial traditions, the use of the same script-language combination in *all* emic inscriptions from the kingdom suggests rather that it is a product of a continuation of local Luwo-Anatolian traditions. This is supported by the fact that the earliest evidence for the Gurgumean institution of kingship appears to be entirely detached from Hittite traditions.

The institution of Gurgumean kingship evidently prioritized genealogical legitimacy, with only one ruler additionally claiming divine legitimacy in his inscription. While explicitly royal images are few, it seems reasonable to conclude that the adornment of Gurgumean kings in long, fringed robes and round caps, with a sword belted at the hip and a staff held before them, became institutionalized within a few generations of the polity's existence, after a period of experimentation. The titulary utilized by Gurgumean kings also appears to have been institutionalized by about the same time, i.e., at least by the mid-9th century BCE; the use of the title 'king' seems to reflect a widening worldview in which local rulers sought to fit among their peers, while the title 'the just one' appears unique to the kingdom of Gurgum, perhaps an allusion to the Hittite title 'IUDEX.*LA*' or 'Labarna'. And while the deeds of Gurgumean kings are not prioritized in their inscriptions, improvements to the land appear to be ideologically more

significant than military conquests, although the image of Muwizi in his role as warrior may serve to balance the textual evidence.

While these overall trends in Gurgumean kingship hold true, the close examination of the monumental productions of each ruler in their entirety and considered in their historical context provides an understanding of individual expressions of political identity made by each king. Larama I appears to have founded Gurgum in a vacuum of political strength, with only the Hittite rump-states holding substantial power to the east and south. His inscription makes it clear that he was engaged with their political institutions, but also that he did not wish to portray an appearance of equal status with his lack of title. Instead, he conveyed a message of local concern, focused on authority building and familial lineage. Larama's image, or the image of his kingship, appears innovative and similarly unconcerned with foreign standards of royal portraiture. The first king of Gurgum established a unique political identity centered around local Anatolian ideals during a time when the Syro-Anatolian polities bearing a legacy of Hittite institutions were growing into regional powerhouses.

Later in the same century, Muwizi chose to represent his royal image in the form of a warrior-king, not simply holding the implements of combat, but in a dynamic position with bow drawn, as if engaged in battle. His inscription provides limited information, but it seems that he further institutionalized the ideal of patrilineal legitimacy set forth by his father. Thus, his political identity adhered to local Anatolian, or now Gurgumean, traditions, yet apparently at a

time when military might had increased in importance, perhaps a reflection of the expansion efforts of existing kingdoms or of the formation of other neighboring polities.[102]

Halparuntiya II created his royal image around the time of the campaigns of the Assyrian king Šalmaneser III. It is, perhaps, no surprise then that the Gurgumean king expressed an innovative political identity reflective of Assyrian traditions. While his image appears to be a blend of previous local, Gurgumean standards of royal portraiture, his inscription provides a striking contrast to those of his predecessors in many ways. The adoption of titulary, the inclusion of military victories and elaboration of violent atrocities, and even the emphasis on surpassing the deeds of his predecessors could all be derived from Assyrian annalistic traditions. From the accounts of Šalmaneser III, we know that interaction began already with Halparuntiya's father, Muwatalli II, who paid tribute to the Assyrian king, including a daughter; Halparuntiya continued paying tribute and there is no evidence of conflict between these polities during his reign (RIMA 3, A.0.102.1, 92b-95; RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, i 40-41a, ii 84-102). This peaceful interaction would have provided ample opportunity for reception, interpretation, and adaptation of foreign institutional practices and ideals by both parties. And while Halparuntiya retains the Gurgumean concern with patrilineal legitimacy, albeit in a modified form, he appears more concerned with legitimacy by right of might. In all, the first Gurgumean ruler to name himself king illustrated a changing worldview through his inscribed statue and expressed a political identity which responded to the imperial expansion of Assyria.

[102] For instance, Palastina appears to have campaigned northward into Cilicia around this time (ARSUZ 1 and 2; Dinçol et al. 2015), and the PANCARLI (Herrmann, van den Hout, and Beyazlar 2016) inscription found further south within the Bend may attest to the existence of a nearby settlement with enough power to produce monumental displays.

By the end of the same century, Halparuntiya III conveyed a message of political identity reflecting a return to traditional institutions of Gurgumean kingship. He expanded upon the ideal of patrilineal legitimacy by providing the lengthiest royal genealogy preserved from the kingdom and emphasized his role as a beneficent king, who improved the land. Additionally, Halparuntiya claimed divine legitimacy, crediting the gods in a way that his predecessors had not. Halparuntiya's concern for legitimacy may suggest insecurity in his reign. From the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Adad-nerari III, who established a border between Gurgum and Kummuh at the expense of the former, it is clear that Gurgum was out of favor with the empire or losing political power among neighboring local kingdoms. It is possible that this negative outcome resulted in Halparuntiya III discarding the Assyrian-inspired innovations of his predecessor, returning to the traditional Anatolian institutions of those before, and highlighting the legitimacy of his rule through multiple modes in order to assuage any possible hostility among his subjects. While this internal strife is speculative, it could explain the exaggerated Gurgumean traditions conveyed through Halparuntiya's expression of political identity.

Lastly, Larama III provides limited evidence with respect to his political identity, but it appears that he retained the traditions of Gurgumean royal inscriptions associated with the local institution of kingship. His monumental inscription was produced during a period of Assyrian decline, when evidence from other polities suggests a phase of local Syro-Anatolian developments without external pressures. Larama's simple communication of a straightforward genealogy without reference to any of his deeds does nothing to contradict that assessment. Thus, while we can do little to reconstruct the political identity of Larama III without semiotics or more

substantial textual evidence, we can infer that he sought to express a traditional Gurgumean image of kingship, even without an actual image being present.

4.5.3 Sam'al

Monuments depicting up to five rulers of Sam'al, created by at least three rulers, allow us to reconstruct the development of political identity in Sam'al, along with the key components of Sam'alian kingship. The pictorial characteristics and content of the inscriptions of the Sam'alian monuments demonstrate substantial continuity throughout the duration of the kingdom's existence with only minor changes. On the other hand, the scripts and languages employed in each monument illustrate a similarly complex, yet entirely unique, linguistic landscape, selectively engaged by various rulers in their making of political identity. The relevant monuments of Sam'al come in the form of columnar statues and relief orthostats, and are supported by two late signet rings of the last Sam'alian king.

The earliest monument of Sam'al, an uninscribed columnar statue, belongs to an unknown ruler (Gilibert 2011: 76-79); however, its dating to the late 10th or early 9th century BCE may allow an interpretation as Hayya, the father of Kulamuwa, or perhaps even Gabbar, the dynastic founder. In any case, the semiotic elements appear to illustrate an image of kingship closely related to those of contemporaneous Karkemiš and Gurgum when compared with the orthostat of Katuwa and the statue of Halparuntiya II (KARKAMIŠ A13d; Hawkins 2000: 115-117; MARAŞ 4; Hawkins 2000: 255-258; Orthmann 1971: Maraş B/3; Fig. 46). As will presently become clear, this early image of Sam'alian kingship suggests a different political identity than that of subsequent kings, who emphasize different political and social connections through their use of contrasting semiotics, linguistic elements, and content.

The mid-9th century BCE Kulamuwa orthostat, for instance, depicts the king in slightly more elaborate attire: the fringe of his robe appearing like small tassels at the bottom edge; rosettes decorate his arm- and wristbands; and a sort of tail hangs from the back of his pointed cap (Gilibert 2011: 79-84). Additionally, he does not hold a staff, which appears as a symbol of kingship elsewhere, but rather holds a drooping lotus flower in his lower left hand and holds his right hand up in the *ubana tarasu* gesture, pointing towards several divine symbols. While the difference in monumental form, i.e., statue versus orthostat, may have led to some visual variations, the specific semiotic elements presented here are almost certainly the product of a new political identity selected by Kulamuwa. Iconographically, the relief has been compared most closely with images of contemporaneous Assyrian kings, albeit acknowledging certain foreign – perhaps Levantine – motifs (Brown 2008b: 243-4). Specifically, the attire and gesture seem to indicate an imitation or adaptation of Assyrian tropes (Fig. 47), while the lotus flower illustrates a connection with the Levant with attestations of the motif known already from the Late Bronze and Early Iron, including upon the sarcophagus of the Phoenician-speaking Ahiram, ruler of Byblos, dated ca. 1000 BCE (Porada 1973; Loon 1986: 245-247; Bonatz 2000: 102-103; Brown 2008b: 239; Gilibert 2011: 82). This last may provide the inspiration for the inclusion of the drooping lotus flower in the Sam'alian relief, especially considering the accompanying Phoenician script, an indicator that Kulamuwa was knowledgeable of more than simply the Phoenician language, but also of central Levantine traditions of royal representation, perhaps suggesting that he or his ancestors/predecessors were emigrated from the region around Byblos (Fig. 48).

The mid-8th century BCE statue of Hadad discovered on the mound of Gerçin was commissioned by the Sam'alian king Panamuwa I (Bonatz 2000: 69-70). While the statue is explicitly labeled as the Storm God in its inscription, the first-person narrative supplied by the king, along with parallels in nearby Cilicia, may indicate that the figure was intentionally ambiguously representing both the god and king. This is likewise supported by the semiotics of the monument. The figure is dressed in a long robe, typical of royal figures, but wears a double-horned cap, symbolic of divinity. This ambiguity problematizes the analysis of developments in Sam'alian political identity, mainly because it is not replicated in later representations, thus appearing as an excursus in what is otherwise a relatively continuous process. It is, however, significant that this particular digression occurred at roughly the same time that Hiyawan monuments similarly expressed an ambiguity of royal and divine portraiture, perhaps suggesting a desire to emulate foreign traditions or signifying a micro-regional tradition that extended across the Amanus (Fig. 49).

The statue of Panamuwa II, dated to the late 8th century BCE and commissioned by his son Bar-Rākib, is in line with the semiotic traditions of Kulamuwa (Bonatz 2000: 161). While the statue is only preserved from the waist down, it appears to depict a standing ruler in a long, wrapping, fringed robe, with details reminiscent of the earlier Sam'alian king.

The other monuments commissioned by Bar-Rākib, the last Sam'alian king, take the form of three relief orthostats, all dated to the late 8th century BCE (Gilibert 2011: 85-88). In all three, the king wears a long, fringed robe that is draped over and bunched around his shoulders. In the two reliefs where the head is fully preserved, he wears a somewhat pointed cap with a small tassel hanging from the top. In one relief he wears wristbands, while in the others his wrists a

bare. In all three, he wears a squared, curly beard and short, curly hair with curling locks at his sideburns. Bar-Rākib also holds a flower in his left hand in all three reliefs, but his right hand functions differently in each: he holds his hand raised before his face in a closed fist in one, holding a small drinking cup in another, and open and palm up in the last. The closed fist appears to gesture towards the divine symbols overhead, while the open hand gestures either towards the singular symbol of the Moon-god or towards the scribe standing before the king; the scene with the cup is too fragmentary for interpretation. These reliefs, while demonstrating variability in the depictions of a single king, illustrate a continuity of tradition stemming from the representations of Kulamuwa, perhaps signifying a similar continuity (or a revival) in the expressions of political identity issued by the Sam'alian kings of the mid-9th and 8th century BCE (Fig. 50).

The inscription upon the Kulamuwa relief orthostat is written in the Phoenician script and language (KAI 24; Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021). The text begins with the genealogy of Kulamuwa, followed by an account of his deeds; most notably, he claims to have gained the support of Assyria against the Danunians, and to have united his people, becoming father, mother, and brother to them.[103] Kulamuwa presents himself as a beneficent ruler, who improved the lives of his people, providing them opportunities and resources that they had previously lacked. He also defines himself amidst other local kings and does not suggest his supremacy over them; rather, he makes clear that he was *not* the most powerful king and required outside assistance to prevail over the mighty kings of the nearby regions. This expressed political identity is notable as it emphasizes his collaborative spirit, rather than his individual power;

[103] KAI 24; for a discussion of the identity of the two groups that Kulamuwa claims to have united – the *muškabim* and the *ba'ririm* – see Brown (2008b: 237-43); see also, Schmitz (2013). See also, Section 4.4.3 above for an evaluation in the scope of factionalism in the kingdom of Sam'al.

likewise, in the corpus of monuments bearing political content, it is peculiar that Kulamuwa does not invoke any deities within the content of his inscription, only including them as litigators in his concluding curse formula and as divine symbols. His specific relationship with Assyria, while somewhat ambiguous in his inscription, became a central characteristic of Sam'alian kingship during the reigns of his successors, as is clear from their own inscriptions.

Upon the statue of Hadad commissioned by Panamuwa I is a Sam'alian Aramaic inscription. The text recounts Panamuwa's erection of the monument itself within the king's burial chambers. More importantly for this chapter, it describes the divine gift of kingship bestowed upon him: "The gods Hadad and El and Rākib-El and Šamaš and Rašap gave the scepter of dominion into my hands" (CoS 2.36). While his predecessor, Kulamuwa, emphasized his own agency in the success of his kingdom, Panamuwa I begins his inscription by describing the beneficial deeds of the gods and their bestowal of power upon the king himself. Throughout his inscription, Panamuwa I continues to insert divine agency into descriptions of his own deeds, ensuring that the reader understands the source of his kingship and the power behind his actions. Even in death, Panamuwa I wished to place himself in the proximity of the gods, especially Hadad: "May he [Panamuwa's successors] remember eternally the soul (*NBŠ*) of Panamuwa with Hadad" (CoS 2.36). This line, in conjunction with the 1st person narrative of Panamuwa and self-identification as a statue of Hadad, along with the distinct combination of royal and divine semiotic elements, cements the intentional ambiguity expressed in this representation of Panamuwa-Hadad, and thus defines Panamuwa I's image of Sam'alian kingship as one deeply connected to the divine, in much the same way as contemporaneous Hiyawan kingship. This presents a striking contrast to the ideologies evident in the institutions of kingship associated

with the rules of both his predecessors and successors; nowhere else is there such strong evidence of a prioritization of divine kingship in the history of Sam'alian political identity.

While the statue of Panamuwa II commissioned by his son Bar-Rākib appears to have taken a similar form and function, the content of its Sam'alian Aramaic inscription illustrates a drastic change in the Sam'alian political identity, albeit one that we may only effectively attribute to the latter king and his rule. The fragmentary text begins with a description of Panamuwa II's deeds, apparently describing his violent ascent to the throne and including allusions to the support of 'the gods of *Y'DY*' and 'the god Hadad', suggesting a continuity of the previously established divine kingship of Sam'al, albeit with significantly less emphasis. Strikingly, Panamuwa II's kingship is credited to the king of Assyria, Tiglath-pileser III: "[Panamuwa] brought a gift to the king of Assyria, who made him king over the house of his father" (CoS 2.37). Bar-Rākib claims that his father was well-positioned among other mighty local kings, seeming to connect his rule to the relationship with Assyria first expressed by Kulamuwa, yet contrasting with the former king's weakness within the political landscape of the northeast Mediterranean. His relationship with Assyria is strengthened in the subsequent clauses, where Panamuwa II is clearly subordinate to Tiglath-pileser III ("he seized the robe of his lord, the mighty king of Assyria"), but evidently in the Assyrian king's good graces: "My father profited more than all other mighty kings," and upon Panamuwa's death in service to the Assyrian king, "Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, wept for him…set up for him a memorial…and he brought my father from Damascus to Assyria" (CoS 2.37). The inscription concludes by legitimating the succession of Bar-Rākib: "Because of the loyalty of my father and because of my loyalty, my lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, has caused me to reign on the throne of my

father…" (CoS 2.37). Only after his kingship is granted by Assyria does Bar-Rākib request divine support for his rule.

The inscriptions of two relief orthostats of Bar-Rākib, dated about a decade later than the commemorative statue of his father, provide consistent evidence for minor developments in the concept of kingship under the last Sam'alian king. Bar-Rākib's loyalty remains at the forefront of his self-legitimation as king of Sam'al – here, for the first time, labeled as such in an emic source – albeit with additional objects of his loyalty: "…on account of my loyalty, my lord, Rākib-El, and my lord, Tiglath-pileser, caused me to reign upon the throne of my father" (CoS 2.38). While Assyria remains an integral part of legitimating his rule, Bar-Rākib returns to the practices of his predecessors in crediting the gods for his ascension, particularly the dynastic god Rākib-El, as well. For Bar-Rākib, at least, and perhaps also his father Panamuwa II, Sam'alian kingship was defined by the kingdom's positive relationship with Assyrian, and only secondarily concerned with divine legitimacy. It was through this subordination that the last Sam'alian king(s) defined their position and identity within the local political landscape of the Core Region, asserting their local superiority as a product of Assyrian cooperation.

Concerning the selections of script and language for the political monuments of Sam'al, we may note a great variety in the rather limited corpus, including Phoenician, Luwian, Aramaic, and local Sam'alian Aramaic. Additionally, the early use of the Northwest Semitic scripts in this region marks an innovation, one that was immediately applied in royal representations and subsequently developed for specific local uses. The inscription of the Kulamuwa Relief is composed in Phoenician, not the autochthonous Luwian, nor the emerging Aramaic, nor even the Akkadian of the empire under which Kulamuwa claims to serve (Lebrun 1987: 24; Gilibert 2011:

79). This is not a coastal kingdom, which would necessarily have frequent contact with Phoenician-speaking peoples, so why erect a monumental royal inscription in the language? While Payne takes this as the eastern limit of the zone in which Phoenician was the *lingua franca*, using this very inscription to do so (2007: 125), Brian Brown takes another stance, which may be described as Sam'al's self-definition of political identity. Brown suggests that the king of Sam'al used Phoenician in his royal display as an act of neutrality, not wanting to appear to favor Assyria or its fellow Syro-Anatolian kingdoms – it was not simply the result of language use (2008b: 241-2, 248). Alternatively, Kulamuwa may have used the script and language to emphasize his kingdom's connection to the economically powerful central Levantine cities. In fact, considering the choice of script and language alongside the deities invoked in his inscription and the iconographic connections to the central Levant, especially the drooping lotus flower, it is worth considering the possibility that Kulamuwa, his predecessors or ancestors, or at least an influential elite community close to the king were in fact Phoenician-speakers and possessors of substantial central Levantine cultural knowledge. In any case, it is clear that the implementation of Phoenician was a court initiative, independent from common language use in the local communities of the Bend.

Upon the Hadad statue of Panamuwa I is a Sam'alian Aramaic inscription, the earliest extant source of the local language. Considering the originality and ambiguity expressed in the monument, perhaps it should not be a surprise that a local linguistic development should also appear there. This is not to say that local Sam'alians were not speaking their own local NW Semitic language previously, but that this monument may well represent the period during which the Sam'alian elites began recording it using the Aramaic script, at least on non-perishable

media. The implementation of the new script-language combination may have served as an additional means by which Panamuwa I could construct and express his political identity within a highly cosmopolitan political landscape.[104]

The same script-language combination was also used for the inscription upon the statue of Panamuwa II by his son Bar-Rākib, suggesting a continuity for its application upon royal Sam'alian representations. While the political message of the two monuments is substantially different, the general function of the statues as commemorative funerary monuments may provide insight into the specific usage of Sam'alian Aramaic. In addition to these two inscriptions, only one other Sam'alian Aramaic inscription has been found – that of the KTMW Stele, dated within the same two decades as the two statues, ca. 750-730 BCE. Not only is the limited period of use significant, but the funerary function of all three monuments may indicate that the local dialect was specifically used in cultic context, and only secondarily served to define the political identity of the 8th century Sama'alian kings in unique local terms. This may be supported by considering the linguistic choices made in the construction of the remaining monuments of Bar-Rākib, the last Sam'alian king.

In all three extant relief orthostats of Bar-Rākib, dated shortly after the statue that he commissioned for his father, the king records his inscriptions in 'official' Aramaic, that which was used across much of the Near East and served as the official language of the Assyrian empire. It is entirely possible that this is simply a chronological development, illustrating a process of Aramaicization of NW Semitic script and language use within the diverse local

[104] Compare the situation with that of the roughly contemporaneous rulers of Hiyawa (Section 4.5.4).

linguistic landscape, perhaps inspired by strengthening ties with Assyria. However, when considering the official political nature of these monuments, along with their archaeological context upon the citadel mound of the capital at Zincirli, and in stark contrast to the presumed original location of the two funerary statues at the cult site of Gerçin Höyük and the KTMW Stele within an urban sanctuary, we might infer that the particular use context may be the determining factor for monumental script-language use. At the least, this possibility denies the simple ascription to a linear linguistic development without contest.

Bar-Rākib constructed his late 8th century BCE royal monuments in Aramaic and local Sam'alian Aramaic, while he employed signet rings in Aramaic and Hieroglyphic Luwian (KAI 216-221; Hawkins 2000: 576 [ZİNCİRLİ signet]). In a single reign, three scripts and languages were used in political discourse and displays of authority, suggesting that their selection has less to do with popular language use than with active identity making and display. I believe the authors of our Phoenician and Luwian inscriptions are making statements in a similar way, defining the political identity of their respective kingdoms through the application of specific scripts and languages in their royal inscriptions.

To understand the motivations behind the construction of such political identities and institutions of kingship, we must consider the historical settings during which the textual and visual representations were commissioned. The Kulamuwa Relief was constructed immediately after the mid-9th century BCE expansion efforts of the Assyrian king Šalmaneser III, and it illustrates a combination of local Syro-Anatolian traditions, coopted Assyrian iconography, and the earliest concrete marker of long-term central Levantine influence in the region. The unique combination of elements may have served to illustrate the vast interregional contacts, which

Kulamuwa had secured and perhaps wished to present to those who visited his palace at a time when the budding polity was in need of new ways of representing power following the reduction of Palastinean regional influence. On the other hand, the implicit subordinance to Assyria, expressed as a relatively neutral cooperation in the content of the inscription, but visually adhering to Assyrian royal representational standards, may have been intended as a subtle acquiescence to imperial subordination, while appearing to have gained power in the local political landscape through Kulamuwa's own actions. The explicit animosity towards Hiyawa – the only neighboring polity to also employ the Phoenician script – demonstrates that the overlapping linguistic landscapes of the Core Region cannot be used to define the political landscapes; rather, the use of script and language were one component used by various kings to construct their individual political identities and define their images of local kingship.

The statue of Hadad-Panamuwa I was erected during a period of relative autonomy for the kingdom of Sam'al. Aššur-nerari V was king of Assyria but was politically weak and much of his power was actually held by his *turtanu* Šamši-ilu. While Šamši-ilu had many dealings with neighboring polities, Sam'al may have avoided his attention. The lack of any mention of the imperial power in the inscription upon Panamuwa I's statue may indicate a period of autonomy, and the use of Sam'alian Aramaic may be the culmination of local developments with minimal interference from imperial pressures.

The remainder of the royal monuments of Sam'al were constructed during or following the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III. Bar-Rākib ardently conveyed messages of subordination and allegiance to Assyria, while communicating royal inscriptions in both the local Sam'alian dialect and the 'official' Aramaic used throughout the Assyrian empire, and even employing both

Aramaic and Hieroglyphic Luwian as personal identity markers on his signet rings. His use of Sam'alian Aramaic may be a brief continuation of his predecessors' practices, or it may serve a contextually specific purpose connected to ancestor worship or cult practice more broadly. The use of 'official' Aramaic may illustrate the culmination of Assyrianization of the political institutions of Sam'al, while the plurality of scripts employed upon signet rings suggests a persistence of sociolinguistic diversity within the kingdom and accepted by Bar-Rākib. Considering the combination of visual and textual elements in his monuments, it appears that they represent an institutionalized set of Sam'alian representational ideals. Bar-Rākib adapted the semiotic elements employed by his ancestor Kulamuwa – his attire and gesture, the flower held in his hand, the divine symbols overhead, and even the juxtaposition of text and image – but embraced the changing political landscape by combining traditional elements of Sam'alian royal representations with elements associated with the imperial expansion of Assyria, including the 'official' Aramaic language, but also the drinking cup depicted in one of his reliefs, which is reminiscent of Assyrian Palace Ware, and indicative of inclusion within Assyrian provincial elite society.

Each Sam'alian ruler expressed a political identity reflective of the changing political landscape and broader worldview of the region. From the reign of Kulamuwa through that of Panamuwa I, the royal monumental representations of the kings of Sam'al include an element of ambiguity. While this appears to be explicit and intentional in the case of the former, it may simply be a product of a more insular political landscape in the case of the latter. This potential insularity, at least in terms of contact with the Assyrian empire, may in fact have allowed for significant local developments in script and language use. It may also have featured micro-

regional interactions, with Hiyawa for instance, that led to shared practices of monumental representations, particularly in the use of columnar statues. Specifically in the case of Panamuwa I, this period of relative autonomy appears to have inspired the prioritization of the divine role in the acquisition of kingship, institutionalizing the particular deities and symbols associated with Sam'alian rule.

This sense of ambiguity is absent in the political identities of the last Sam'alian kings, and the emphasis on divine kingship is reduced. Through the monuments of Bar-Rākib, we may understand the institution of Sam'alian kingship as deeply connected with their subordination to Assyria and further legitimated through the support of local deities, especially the Storm God Hadad and the dynastic god Rākib-El. In the end, the monuments of the Sam'alian kings appear to represent a steady evolution of the local institution of kingship with individual expressions of political identity constructed by each king in response to changing interregional connections, their evolving worldviews, and the political landscape of the Core Region.

4.5.4 Hiyawa[105]

Two rulers of Hiyawa produced enough evidence to define their chosen political identities: Awarika and Azatiwada. Awarika, in particular, produced several monuments illustrating the way in which he wished for himself and his kingship to be viewed, all of which were inscribed and one of which was figural. In the Phoenician text of the trilingual İNCİRLİ stele alone (Kaufmann 2007), Awarika defines himself as the king of the Danunians, of the house Mopsos, of Que, and of the entire Hittite district/province of the Assyrian empire; he also

[105] Published in large part in Lovejoy (2022).

clearly subordinates himself to Assyria, labeling himself as the servant of Tiglath-pileser III. In the Phoenician HASAN-BEYLİ inscription (Lemaire 1983), Awarika identifies only as the king of Adana, while in the Luwian-Phoenician bilingual CİNEKÖY inscription (Tekoğlu et al. 2001), he is described as the descendant of Muksas/Mopsos, the Hiyawan king, and (the ruler of) the house of the land of the plain of Adana; in both inscriptions, Awarika's subordinance to Assyria is expressly evident. Solely from the content of Awarika's inscriptions, it is clear that he wished to present himself as the king of the land of Que/Hiyawa, of the Assyrian Hittite province/district, of the dynasty of Mopsos/Muksas, and of the Danunian people. The CİNEKÖY inscription, in particular, provides substantial evidence for Hiyawan royal ideology under Awarika, which is directly comparable to the ideologies of the subsequent ruler, Azatiwada.

The text first details the good that the king has done for his land – expanding his territory, causing it to prosper, and increasing his army – before acknowledging Assyrian supremacy and the benefit of this relationship. Awarika continues by briefly describing his military exploits, followed by his construction efforts, during which he built fortresses in the east and west. The concluding lines of the text are fragmentary and difficult to read but appear to end on a positive note for the kingdom of Hiyawa.

The most striking lines of this inscription fall directly in the middle of the text (i.e., lines 6 and 7 of the 12-line inscription); these lines state: "the Assyrian king, and the entire house of Assyria, was made father and mother to me; and of Hiyawa and Assyria, one house was made" (my translation). These lines suggest that Hiyawa was, at this point, subservient to, and perhaps included within, the empire of Assyria. However, all of the deeds expressed in the text, both before and after the proclamation of allegiance to Assyria, are conducted in the first person, thus

crediting Awarika alone – with the support of the gods – for the betterment and well-being of Hiyawa. Considering the choice of scripts, this reference to Assyria does not appear to be for the sake of some potential Assyrian audience, but rather an intentional and selected statement in support of the empire to the east, intended for a local and/or divine audience. That these lines are essentially buried within statements of individual, local, Hiyawan accomplishments appears to be another instance of deliberate ambiguity in this monumental expression of local, political identity.

In contrast, Azatiwada produced only one set of monuments at the site of Karatepe with three versions of the same inscription (KARATEPE 1; Younger 1998; Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000: 45-68). Unlike Awarika, he does not explicitly define himself as king, but rather defines himself implicitly as a ruler with the support of Awarika, who he labels the Adanawean king, king of the Danunians, and descendant of the house Muksas/Mopsos. It seems, then, that Azatiwada fell outside of the royal line, but chose to legitimize his position through his positive association with the former king of the polity and people. Immediately after his introduction, Azatiwada claims that the Storm God made him father and mother to the Hiyawans. The ruler then improves his land, defeats his enemies, builds fortresses in the east and west, and curses any who destroy the gates or deface the inscriptions. Azatiwada also describes his founding of Azatiwadaya – the settlement in which the inscriptions stand; in the inscription upon the statue of the Storm God, in particular, Azatiwada claims to have settled 'this god Ba'al KRNTRYŠ (in it)' (*C* III.16, after Younger 1998: 30) – the demonstrative pronoun seeming to confirm the identity of the figure as Ba'al.

From the outset of the inscription, it is obvious that many sections of the text, and indeed several formulaic clauses and even specific lines, were borrowed from the ÇİNEKÖY inscription. Azatiwada's proclamation that he was made father and mother to his people mirrors the statement made of Assyria in the earlier inscription, albeit removing any sentiment of Assyrian support. In fact, he makes no mention of Assyria – a major component in the earlier inscription – anywhere in the text. However, similar to Awarika in the ÇİNEKÖY inscription, Azatiwada is the singular subject for all the accomplishments of his kingdom; thus, as with the previous inscription, the ruler appears to claim all responsibility and honor from his deeds for himself and, in turn, for the gods. While the KARATEPE inscription does not contain the same explicit ambiguity regarding Assyria as does the ÇİNEKÖY inscription, the absolute lack of any reference to Assyria in any of the three versions of the text, alongside the many parallel clauses between the two inscriptions, may, in fact, be *implicitly* ambiguous, yet equally deliberate. Azatiwada may have ignored Assyria in his inscription because he shed the yolk of their rule during his reign; his statement of individuality appears to be a subtle assertion of independence and local identity, which neither directly attacks, nor supports, Assyria. While this change in policy would surely be quite evident to the Hiyawan elite, the majority of the population may have remained unaware and perhaps uninterested; and as a communication to the gods, the ambiguity of the message may have served to direct the gods focus towards the improvement and protection of Hiyawa alone, and away from Assyria entirely through their absence in the inscription.[106]

[106] See Lanfranchi (2007) for a structural analysis of the texts, particularly as they pertain to the differing political ideologies of the two Hiyawan rulers; namely, Lanfranchi argues for an inward-looking Azatiwada as opposed to an outward-looking Awarika, where both kings were vying for power within a complex political landscape with, at least, pro- and anti-Assyrian factions.

However, the messages delivered through the content of the inscriptions of these Hiyawan kings are not the only components of their expressions of political identity; they are supported in various ways by the scripts employed and especially by the visual elements included in the ÇİNEKÖY and KARATEPE statues. Both statues easily fall within the same type, composed of many of the same key features: both figures stand straight and tall; they are wrapped in long, fringed garments, draped over the same shoulder; the arms are bent at right angles, each hand holding an object, perhaps even the same pair of objects; both figures (likely) wear short beards; and both statues stand atop a base at least partially composed of two bulls. Most striking among these elements is the long robe-like garment – the defining feature of Bunnens' 'Group II' in his typology – which contrasts with the much more common short skirt shown in many depictions of the Storm God. The wrapping style and fringed borders of the robe resemble the garment worn by some Assyrian officials,[107] which may indicate an adaptation resulting from intensified contact (Fig. 51).[108] However, Bunnens suggests that it is not representative of an adoption of Assyrian motifs, but rather a micro-regionally specific tradition of representation (2006: 58, esp. n. 8-9). Finding a similar garment on other royal statues and stelae from the Syro-Anatolian region, particularly on two statues of kings of Sam'al, who also bear the same posture, Bunnens attributes the garment to the royalty of a small geographical area around the northeast corner of the Mediterranean.[109] He thus suggests that both ÇİNEKÖY and

[107] For example, see the official standing before Sennacherib (perhaps Esarhaddon) in the relief of the siege of Lachish in the Southwest Palace at Niniveh (Russell 1991: 206 fig. 112), or the eunuchs in the reliefs of Aššurnaṣirpal II in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud (Russell 1991: 216 fig. 118).
[108] The same has been said of the depiction of the king in the Kulamuwa Relief (Brown 2008a: 343-4), which may represent a stage of representation between the Assyrian model and the Hiyawan productions.
[109] Most notable are the statue commissioned by Panamuwa I found at Gerçin near Zincirli – identified in its inscription as Hadad, but composed entirely in the first persion, and so possibly representing both the Storm God and the local king, much like the Hiyawan monuments – and the statue of another unknown king found at Zincirli (Bunnens 2006: 57, 120, 154 fig. 44, 162 fig. 82).

KARATEPE are the result of a combination of divine attributes and royal portraiture,[110] citing their differences in headwear, stone bases, and inscriptions as further ambiguities, making it uncertain whether the figures are the Storm God himself[111] or a deified king (Bunnens 2006: 57, 120, 128).[112]

Additionally, certain details of these statues vary in significant ways; of these, the most important for our discussion are the beards/hair and the headwear. The beard of the ÇİNEKÖY statue is depicted with curls and locks, ending squared and reaching the upper chest; the hair of the statue is similarly stylized. This is quite similar to the way in which the beards of the contemporaneous Assyrian king, Sargon II, as well as other Assyrian dignitaries and deities, were depicted in the statues and reliefs in his palace at Khorsabad (Smith 1938: pl. 25; see also, Wicke 2015: 583). This style of beard is also worn by the Storm God on many Syro-Anatolian monuments;[113] the rock-relief of İVRİZ 1, for instance, includes the figures of the king of Tuwana and the Storm God, both of which wear short, curly beards, ending at their upper chests. The statue of KARATEPE, on the other hand, wears a short beard or none at all; the small amount of hair preserved emerging from underneath the cap is represented by incised vertical

[110] See Ornan (2007) and Neumann (2017: esp. 15), for the use of divine characteristics or adornments in royal portraiture of Assyria as a means of empowering and elevating the Assyrian king.
[111] The nearby İVRİZ 1 relief depicts the Storm God and the king of Tuwana in attire that quite clearly denotes the difference between king and god. Here the king is adorned with a long robe – though quite different from those depicted at Çineköy and Karatepe (i.e., not wrapped, decorated in geometric patterns, and clasped with a fibula) – while the Storm God wears a short, belted skirt, ending just above the knees.
[112] During the Imperial Period, Hittite kings depicted themselves upon their seals with various elements of divine iconography associated, specifically, with the Sun-god; some figures held a slung bow over their shoulder, while others wore long robes or horned helms. Around the end of the 13th century BCE, the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV sought to position himself among the gods within the rock-cut sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (van den Hout 2007; Herbordt 2006; Bonatz 2006; Hutter 2017). It is also important to consider the figures' associations with bulls, which were associated with Storm gods beginning as early as the Ur III dynasty, and taking full form by the Old Babylonian period (Demircioğlu 1939; and Bunnens 2006: 69 with references therein).
[113] For instance, on the relief of king Katuwa from Karkemiš, on a stone block from Arslantepe-Malatya, on an orthostat from Zincirli, and on a stele from Arslan Tash (Bunnens 2006: 152 fig. 43, 159 fig. 65, 160 fig. 68, 161 fig. 73).

lines, indicating straight hair, which may have been true also for the beard (Fig. 52). This is quite unique in a pictorial landscape where beards are typically depicted with curls and locks for both divine and royal personages.[114]

The second major difference is the headwear. While the ÇİNEKÖY statue wears a traditional Hittite horned cap, signifying divinity, the figure of the KARATEPE statue has only a simple, smooth, round cap (Fig. 53). Were these two statues found side-by-side, one might assume that the horned cap signifies the deity, while the rounded cap is worn by a king. This is exactly the case in the contemporaneous rock-relief of İVRİZ 1 from the neighboring kingdom of Tuwana, where the Storm God is depicted with the horned cap and the king wears a rounded cap, though in this case it is decorated (Hawkins 2000: 516-8). However, ÇİNEKÖY and KARATEPE were not found together; they were built by two different rulers, during two different – though not too distant – times, under different political situations, and displayed in two different settlements.

The visual variations of these monuments are representative of the abrupt change in the policies of the rulers of Hiyawa.[115] As images of the office of kingship or rulership, these statues signify the different political stances of the rulers who commissioned them. Azatiwada's choice

[114] However, see the relief sculptures of the Temple of the Storm God at Aleppo, where many royal and divine figures dated between the 11th and 9th century BCE are depicted with extremely short beards or none at all (Kohlmeyer 2000, 2009; Hawkins 2011). This iconographic feature is attributed to a new political dynasty and perhaps an intrusive population, and may extend throughout the artistic production of the Iron Age kingdom of W/Palastina, with its center at Tell Tayinat in the Amuq plain. On the other hand, the stelae and statues from Tell Halaf, and one from Ashara, show figures with long wavy lines defining their beards, but this appears to be a different, mostly local, tradition (Bunnens 2006: 165 figs. 96-99, 167 fig. 104).

[115] For the connection between dress and identity, see Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992), where dress is defined as "an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body" (1992: 1), thus including hair and beard. See Lee 2015: 19-32 for a brief literature review of 'dress theory' and the rest of the work for its application in ancient Greece. See Cifarelli (2019) for a collection of recent contributions in the Ancient Near Eastern context.

to depict his statue of the Storm God, his image of the office of rulership, differently than that of Awarika, was intended to openly display the changes he made to the policies of the kingdom of Hiyawa. I suggest that the change of the beard and hair was intended to break away from imagery common to Assyrian depictions; this unique feature provided an outward appearance of the divinely supported rulership that was strikingly different from the imposing Assyrians and from the previous regime. I also suggest that the abandonment of the horned cap was done to specify the figure as the Phoenician Ba'al, rather than the Luwian Tarhunza; this may similarly signify the change of regime, with a different, perhaps partly Phoenician-speaking, political faction coming to power. While Azatiwada retained the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian in the monumental gate complexes of Azatiwadaya, he inscribed his image of the office of rulership only with Phoenician, thus clearly prioritizing the language and script, as well as explicitly labeling the figure within the text as 'this god Ba'al'.

The Hieroglyphic Luwian of ÇİNEKÖY is inscribed in cursive style between the front and back feet of the bull and on the back of the chariot, as well as on the surface and side of the undecorated bottom of the base. The Phoenician is written on the front of the block, between and flanking the two bulls. The situation of the scripts – i.e., the forward position of the Phoenician – appears to be due, in part, to the concise nature of the alphabetic Phoenician that allowed it to be contained in a small area – as opposed to the Luwian, which required more space – but also to a certain preeminence of the Phoenician over the Luwian. Additionally, both languages are in contrast to expectation; Awarika chose to capitulate to Assyrian power in the languages of local tradition and of, perhaps, commercial and international relations or even a new rising elite, while excluding from his local royal inscription the languages of Assyrian political discourse and

display, i.e., Aramaic and Akkadian. This exclusion must have been purposeful, perhaps aiming to avoid angering an anti-Assyrian component of the Hiyawan elite by the visual effect of cuneiform on a local political monument, or alternatively, perhaps avoiding the ire of Assyria, whose royalty may not have approved of the specific message.

The Phoenician text of KARATEPE is inscribed upon all sides of the robe of the Storm God, beginning just below the figure's bent arms, approximately at his waist. The prioritization of Phoenician, indicated by the monolingual nature of the inscription, accords well with the arrangement of the bilingual inscriptions of the two gate complexes. The organization of the orthostats allows one to read the Phoenician easily – the alphabetic text is condensed into an isolated area in both gates – whereas the Luwian is, as described by Payne, "highly chaotic and irregular" (2006: 122) – the hieroglyphs are variously inscribed around and under pictorial elements, upon statues in-the-round, and occasionally on flat slabs. It is, of course, possible that the Phoenician-inscribed statue of the Storm God was one of a pair, with the other being a monolingual Luwian inscription, but until such a statue is discovered, the language connecting the royal family of Hiyawa with the divine – at least with the Storm God – appears to be Phoenician during the reign of Azatiwada;[116] perhaps this alone should indicate to audiences, both ancient and modern, that the Storm God in question should be interpreted as Ba'al, rather than the Luwian Tarhunza, mentioned in the hieroglyphic versions of the bilingual texts.

[116] This is additionally interesting considering that Azatiwada is a Luwian name; yet, parallels for this apparent divergence between the language of royal inscriptions and that of royal onomastics may be found in Sam'al, suggesting that the choice of (throne) names may have served a political purpose, rather than serving as a natural ethnic/cultural identifier.

Why, then, were these monuments inscribed in Phoenician and Luwian? The earliest attestation of the Anatolian Hieroglyphic script was discovered at Ebla from the 17th century BCE and its earliest use in monumental inscription, then clearly encoding the Luwian language, is attributed to the Hittite Empire, especially during the 13th century BCE; together, these data have led to the interpretation that the script and language were developed through iterations of interaction between Syria and Anatolia (Mora 1991; 1998; Glatz 2009; 2020; Archi 2015; d'Alfonso 2021). A small corpus of epistolary texts in the form of inscribed lead strips provide evidence for the continued use of the Luwian language and script through at least the 8th century BCE, at least in the western reaches of the Syro-Anatolian region, thus suggesting that Luwian either persisted as a commonly used language in much of the Core Region throughout the Iron Age or at least reemerged as a language and script for political displays through its resilience in certain micro-regions, like the northern Levant and the Bend with the kingdoms of Palastina and Gurgum, respectively.[117]

Phoenician on the other hand, is first attested in the late 11th or early 10th century BCE, first only in the central Levant in and around the city of Byblos, and then spreading north and south throughout the Levant and across the Mediterranean in the 9th century BCE (Rollston 2008). While the Phoenician script-language combination persisted and developed across the wider region for several centuries, the same script was also used to encode the Aramaic language during the 9th century BCE;[118] the Aramaic script became distinct in the 8th century BCE, at which time Aramaic was also emerging as a *lingua franca* throughout much of the Near East

[117] See the KULULU and ASSUR lead strips in Hawkins 2000: 503-5, 533-55; an unpublished fragment of a lead strip has also been discovered at Zincirli, dating to the late 8th or early 7th century BCE (Virginia Herrmann, pers. comm. 2018).
[118] This is the case in the Tell Fekheriyeh bilingual and the Tel Dan stele (Rollston 2019).

(Rollston 2010; 2019). It is also during this time that local dialects, such as Sam'alian, were developing in local communities and polities, diverging from both Phoenician and Aramaic (Pat-el and Wilson-Wright 2019). In fact, a linguistic analysis of Sam'alian has demonstrated substantial interaction between the Aramoid languages of Aramaic and Phoenician with Luwian, suggesting persistent communications between speakers of each language and almost certain multilingualism in the region (Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021). While continued international and commercial interactions could have resulted in such linguistic developments, one should also consider the likelihood of the physical presence of Phoenician speakers in the northeast corner of the Mediterranean, perhaps elite transplants in both Sam'al and Hiyawa, where Phoenician is found inscribed upon royal monuments.

Turning specifically to Cilicia and the kingdom of Hiyawa, Annick Payne claims that "Phoenician was adopted by the Luwian rulers as a prestige language, the new *lingua franca* from Cilicia to Sam'al" (2006: 125). Wolfgang Röllig supports this, positing that İVRİZ 2 marks the northwest boundary of 'Phoenician' influence, at least to the extent that Phoenician was the *lingua franca* (2013: 316). Ilya Yakubovich, in contrast, suggests that foreign elites bearing a 'Phoenician' "cultural identity" gained control of Cilicia in the centuries following the fall of the Hittite Empire, and as such, "the written use of Luwian alongside Phoenician could then be taken as a concession to the native population groups of Que" (2015: 36). Along a similar line of reasoning, Zsolt Simon asserts that Phoenician was adopted by Greek migrants to Cyprus during the Early Iron Age and was subsequently brought to Cilicia by the early 9th century BCE, at which time a Phoenician-speaking Cypro-Aegean population established the Hiyawan dynasty (2018: 331-2). While I remain unconvinced of Simon's proposed narrative, there is little doubt of

the presence of both Phoenician- and Luwian-speaking components of Hiyawan society, and that Cypro-Aegean groups frequented and likely settled in much of Cilicia is all but certain, based on the material evidence.

What is absolute, is that Hieroglyphic Luwian was autochthonous and Phoenician was originally foreign; by the 8th century, however, it seems likely that Phoenician had taken root among some portion of the population of Hiyawa. Additionally, Aramaic was spreading across much of the Near East, partly as a product of Assyrian expansion and deportation, but it may not have taken hold as a language of politics or administration along the Mediterranean coast at the end of the 8th century BCE. So perhaps Payne and Röllig are right, and Phoenician was a local *lingua franca*, spread through the successful trade ventures of the central Levantine cities or the immigration of Phoenician-speaking elites, but the persistent use of Luwian in both monumental and epistolary texts suggests a sort of parity. Rather than imagining a single *lingua franca* then, Hiyawa and the surrounding area are better characterized as being *without* a regional priority of languages, instead existing as a space composed of a variety of fluid, locally specific script-language environments.

Yet, we must still reconcile the Phoenician precedence demonstrated by the placement of each script on the Hiyawan monuments. To do so, let us contrast this situation with that of İVRİZ 2 – the only other known Phoenician-Luwian bilingual[119] – where the Phoenician text is located on the sides and lower back of the stele, while the Luwian is inscribed around the royal or divine figure on the front, and above the Phoenician on the sides and back, suggesting that it is

[119] Due to the problematic state of preservation and limited publication of the İNCİRLİ inscription (Kaufman 2007; Dodd 2012), I exclude it from this discussion; however, it too appears to prioritize the Phoenician script.

prioritized. I believe these differences can be explained by two related factors: geography and politics. KARATEPE and ÇİNEKÖY were erected in Cilicia, in the kingdom of Hiyawa, close to the coast and in regular contact with the cities of the central Levant, who were the primary users of Phoenician, as well as with Sam'al, which utilized Phoenician in the previous century. İVRİZ 2, on the other hand, was found just on the other side of the Taurus mountains, in the kingdom of Tuwana. I suggest that Tuwana, topographically insulated from maritime travelers, retained a much more 'Anatolian' political identity, and continued to use – or returned to using – the indigenous Luwian as its language of administration,[120] while Hiyawa, a nexus for Anatolian, Mesopotamian, Levantine, and Aegean peoples alike, adopted the alphabetic script and language of maritime commercial and international relations, and perhaps of a significant component of the Hiyawan elite community, as their language of administration.

This choice, this display of scripts and languages, was an outward show of identity. Solely through script selection, Awarika and Azatiwada chose to present a political and religious identity of cosmopolitan interconnectedness and, perhaps a rising elite, and, only secondarily, of traditional Syro-Anatolian legitimacy of kingship. The unknown son of Warpalawa, king of Tuwana, erected a stele below the traditional Anatolian rock-cut monument of his father (İVRİZ 2 and 1, respectively), seeking to connect his kingship to the success of his predecessor through the prioritization of Hieroglyphic Luwian. His inclusion of Phoenician was possibly in imitation of the monuments in Hiyawa, or perhaps simply to increase accessibility of his message to the

[120] However, the extant Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscriptions in the region do not represent a continuous pattern of use – apparent gaps in production or missing evidence mean that this hypothesis cannot be proven outright.

multicultural and multilingual populations of the wider region. On the other hand, it may have been motivated by farther-reaching political pressures.

All of these local inscription-bearing monuments – i.e., both Storm God statues, the gates of KARATEPE, and even the İVRİZ 2 stele – were constructed in the final decades of the 8th century BCE, immediately following Assyrian expansion under Tiglath-pileser III, and are reflective of the evolving Cilician worldview and its diverse blend of cultural interactions. The earliest example, ÇİNEKÖY, represents the emergence of a bilingual Luwian- and Phoenician-speaking community with cultural roots in the Syro-Anatolian and central Levantine regions; its message, on the other hand, proclaims allegiance to the Assyrian empire, and the selection of semiotic attributes employed in its composition suggests significant Assyrian cultural influence.

Azatiwada, on the other hand, constructed the KARATEPE statue in a monumental form well-known within the region, but shedding any Assyrian iconography and even most local Syro-Anatolian traditions of monumental expression previously used within the kingdom; while he continued his predecessor's use of the Luwian and Phoenician scripts on the orthostats of his gate complexes, the statue itself bears only Phoenician, reflecting a shift in the chosen sociopolitical identity expressed by the Hiyawan ruler, and perhaps in the composition of society or in the priority of interregional interactions. The timing of the creation of these monuments cannot be ignored; the evidence strongly suggests that these royal and public inscription-bearing monuments, particularly regarding their use of Phoenician across the region and the specific combination of Phoenician and Luwian in the kingdoms of Hiyawa and Tuwana, were constructed *in response to* new or intensified cultural and political interactions, including,

perhaps most prominently, Assyrian imperialism and their submission to it, but also local inter-polity relations and the everchanging and diverse composition of local society.

The script-language choices of these rulers, at least in the cases of the earliest texts, appear to be deliberately ambiguous in their disuse of any 'official' Assyrian script for messages of Assyrian subordination or cooperation – not a form of resistance to rare episodes of Assyrian administration, especially considering their content, but rather an expression of the operative independence of local rulers and social complexity in the political landscape of the Middle Iron Age in the Syro-Anatolian region; and the use of these scripts in the latter inscriptions could simply be a continuation of this new tradition, but reconfigured to accord with the evolving societal makeup in each respective kingdom, and to emphasize the personal priorities of each ruler and those of any supporting sociopolitical factions. Thus, I believe these choices were made as expressions of local identity that were both considered appropriate for vassals and acceptable to the Assyrian kings, and, in fact, made without concern for Assyrian approval; for why would Assyrian kings concern themselves with the scripts (or images) used by peripheral, subordinate kingdoms in their local monuments? While Sargon II demanded that Akkadian be used in his correspondence with Ur, he and his fellow Assyrian kings of this period appear not to have made a similar demand of the kingdoms of northern Syria and southern Anatolia. I suggest that this is due to the form of the Assyrian empire at this time: officials of Mesopotamia itself, the center of the empire, were expected to conduct their political affairs in traditional Akkadian cuneiform,

while vassal kingdoms in the periphery of the empire, ruled hegemonically from a distance, were left relatively autonomous besides requirements for tribute and fealty.[121]

This deliberate ambiguity in expressions of local political identity in response to sociopolitical interactions may be echoed through the visual representations of kingship in the kingdom of Hiyawa, as well. While foreign merchants, administrators, and soldiers may have seen one or both of the statues of the Storm God, it is unlikely that they would be able to read the Phoenician or Luwian texts, or even understand the nuances of the visual message, specific to the cultural memory of this small part of the Syro-Anatolian world. Very few individuals – Assyrian, local, or otherwise – were likely to have been able to read *both* ÇİNEKÖY and KARATEPE, and notice that the latter was lacking any mention of Assyria. Likewise, in an area receptive to the material and visual cultures of numerous, diverse peoples, the unique or varied elements of the KARATEPE statue, especially alongside the complex, multicultural imagery of the gate reliefs, would not seem out of place without direct comparison to the similar statue of the previous king. Thus, the communications of these monuments must have been directed at the local populations, and to the gods – both visually and, for the presumably limited literate population, textually. Awarika asserted Hiyawan loyalty to Assyria through a locally accessible inscription upon a statue to the Storm God, an image of his office of kingship, that amalgamated traditional Syro-Anatolian and Assyrian elements. Azatiwada, on the other hand, expressed Hiyawa's resistance to the yoke of Assyria and divergence from the subservience of his predecessor through specific and intentional modifications to the template used by Awarika; he included inscriptions in the

[121] See also Herrmann (2018), who interprets Assyrian imperial policies and local responses to them through a model of 'double assimilation' and 'cosmopolitan subordination'. This model provides an explanation for the wide variety of responses to Assyrian interference, as well as reflexive changes seen in the traditions of the empire.

same scripts and languages, but overtly ignored Assyria in his inscriptions, explicitly labeled the Storm God as Ba'al, and altered the image of his office of kingship to clearly differ from past practices. In both cases, the rulers of Hiyawa combined text – both content and script selection – and image, in order to support a message, a declaration of a specific political identity, which they sought to continuously communicate to those who saw their monuments.

4.5.5 Discussion

Kingship within the Core Region cannot be defined in singular terms, nor even can the institutions of kingship for any single polity within the region be boiled down to one monolithic construct. Rather, the political institutions of each kingdom shift and evolve over time, receiving reformations during various reigns, often reflective of the continuously variable political identities constructed, maintained, and expressed by individual rulers. However, within each polity, certain institutionalized practices, ideals, or traditions, which make up their institutions of kingship may be distilled from the monumental productions of these kings.

The institution of Palastinean kingship features a monolingual tradition of Hieroglyphic Luwian royal inscriptions, reflective of a Late Bronze Age legacy of Hittite imperial practices. This legacy is similarly evident in the royal onomastics selected by several rulers of the kingdom, which reproduce certain names of Hittite kings both phonetically and graphically, employing an ideographic combination only otherwise evident several centuries earlier. By the time an image of Palastinean kingship was institutionalized, rulers of the polity were represented in standardized attire consisting of a long, fringed robe, and with exposed hair in uniform curls. Kings of Palastina were expected to be equally beneficent and mighty, as is evident from both their texts and images. Additionally, their rule was divinely sanctioned, their legitimacy derived

from the gods. Finally, there is spotty evidence for the importance of female counterparts to Palastinean rulers, which may have been institutionalized through a reception of previous local practices illustrated by monumental evidence from nearby Alalakh. This evidence would suggest a local mediation of the evident Hittite imperial legacy, rather than a transposition of central Anatolian Hittite elites, which formed a major component of the institution of Palastinean kingship for the duration of its existence.

The institution of Gurgumean kingship likewise featured a monolingual tradition of Hieroglyphic Luwian royal inscriptions, yet there it is less easily assigned a political motivation and may be the product of local language use. This appears to be the case with royal onomastics, where every known ruler bears a name of arguably Anatolian origin. While this too could be considered a reflection of a Hittite legacy, the fact that only a few Gurgumean royal names replicate those of the Late Bronze Age Hittite kings suggests that it is unrelated to the previous empire. Nonetheless, it appears to have been integral to Gurgumean political identity and an institutionalized component of Gurgumean kingship. The semiotics of the Gurgumean image of kingship were also institutionalized after several generations of experimentation; kings were represented in long, fringed robes and round caps, with a sword belted on their hip and a staff held before them. Occurring at about the same time was an institutional change in the assignation of royal titulary: before the mid-9th century BCE, Gurgumean rulers used neither titles nor epithets, but from that point onward, they employed both, describing themselves as ‘the just one’ and ‘Gurgumean king’. The institution of Gurgumean kingship was centered around patrilineal legitimacy, evident from the consistent focus on genealogies in royal inscriptions, and only once did a Gurgumean king claim divine legitimacy, a practice which failed to take root within the

institution during subsequent reigns. Lastly, the royal inscriptions of Gurgum suggest an ideological indifference towards recording the annalistic deeds of their kings in comparison to the attention given their genealogies, perhaps with an emphasis on the improvement of the land when any deeds are described, but this could be due to evidentiary bias from the limited corpus.

The institution of Sam'alian kingship included substantial linguistic diversity evident in script and language selection for royal inscriptions, as well as in the royal names used by Sam'alian kings, which alternate irregularly between Anatolian and Semitic origin. Combining the two sets of evidence suggests that a series of Northwest Semitic languages were utilized alongside Luwian throughout the polity's existence. If the PANCARLI inscription can be included in the political history of Sam'al, then four languages were employed in royal inscriptions of the kingdom, though only during the reign of the last king do we have evidence of simultaneous use of more than one. While the limited corpus prevents any absolute interpretations of the reasons Sam'alian kings selected different languages for their inscriptions, it is reasonable to suggest that linguistic fluidity and pluralism were institutionalized within Sam'alian kingship, at least by the end of the dynasty. This intentional variability in script and language is contrasted by a relative consistency in formal and semiotic components of royal representations and in the ideological assertion of divine legitimacy of Sam'alian kings. These rulers were depicted in long, fringed, wrapping robes, a somewhat conical cap, and with arm- and wristbands of various designs. When represented upon orthostats, Sam'alian kings held a flower in one hand, and their image was juxtaposed with an inscription before them and divine symbols overhead; when depicted in-the-round, statues were columnar and rounded. Lastly, by the 8th century BCE, Sam'alian kings claimed divine legitimacy, especially crediting the Storm

God Hadad and the dynastic god Rākib-El; the final two kings of the dynasty also included their subordination to Assyria as a component of the legitimacy, briefly institutionalizing the ideal within late Sam'alian kingship.

The institution of Hiyawan kingship can only be interpreted through the monumental productions of two rulers, however the stark contrast between the royal ideologies highlights the institutionalized features associated with their reigns. Hiyawan kingship is characterized by multilingualism illustrated in bi- and trilingual inscriptions of Phoenician, Luwian, and, in one case, Assyrian. This particular combination, and the prioritization of Phoenician in each inscription, is peculiar to Hiyawa and marks an identifiable trait separating it from its neighbors. Several semiotic elements included in royal representations also appear to have been institutionalized; Hiyawan rulers were depicted in long, fringed robes, standing upon a base that included bulls, and holding objects in both hands, most likely grape and grain, symbols identifying their connection with the Storm God of the Vineyard. The form of monument was also standardized with rulers only represented through columnar statues. Ideological commonalities between the two Hiyawan rulers illustrate an institutional agenda of recording the deeds of the ruling body, including set tropes like expanding the territory, improving and fortifying the land, and various military successes. Lastly, Hiyawan kingship featured expressions of divine legitimacy, crediting the Storm Gods Tarhunza and Ba'al in the two main languages of royal inscriptions for their position and success.

4.6 Conclusions

The political communities and rulers of the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean shaped a complex and diverse political landscape marked by physical and intangible indices of political

decision-making. Politically charged monumental architecture, like palaces and other governmental and administrative buildings, signify the presence and character of political institutions within the Core Region and provide a concrete residence for local central authorities. Modifications to these structures illuminate transfers of authority, intercultural interactions, and changes within the major political institutions of the region. Sculptural and inscribed monuments from each micro-region stood as expressions of political authority, royal ideology, and the individual identities constructed and maintained by individual rulers and their courts. These monuments provide information into the machinations of their commissioning rulers, as well as the institutions produced and adhered to by these rulers. Inscriptions, in particular, demonstrate the existence of political factions within and among the polities of the northeast Mediterranean, which provide vertical sociopolitical connections between various sectors of local communities extending across social statuses. This collection of evidence further illustrates intangible products of political decision-making, like evolving political identities and ideologies of kingship. These institutions of rule and expressions of political identity demonstrate the different priorities of the kings in each polity and depict a diverse political landscape constructed by the distinct choices made by these rulers.

The architectural remains of political institutions from within the Core Region represent changes and persistence of central authorities as a result of political success or decline due to internal factors or external influence in each micro-region, altogether illustrating the complex and everchanging political landscape of the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean. Overall, the Early Iron Age is characterized by a complete lack of architectural remains for political institutions in the Core Region, while the Middle Iron Age features the emergence of several political

authorities followed by a period of Assyrian provincialization. While this global trend holds true for the whole of the Core Region, each micro-region demonstrates a distinctly local trajectory of development, illustrating a clear process of glocalization throughout the northeast Mediterranean during the Iron Age.

In the northern Levant, many of the sites with palatial and administrative structures dated to the Late Bronze Age experienced some form of decline, destruction, and/or abandonment at the end of the period, with no structures directly reflective of political institutions reemerging until the Middle Iron Age; evidence from cultic architecture, namely the temples of Aleppo and ʻayn Dara, indicate the existence of a central authority, but no royal residence or audience halls are known from the period. With the Middle Iron Age, however, comes the monumentalization of Tell Tayinat with its series of palaces for the local central authority of the micro-region, the royal family of Palastina, until the region was provincialized by Assyria.

The region of the Bend produced no evidence of governmental or administrative architecture until the Middle Iron Age, when Yadiya/Sam'al was founded at Zincirli; however, it must be noted that a lack of excavations at the capital of Gurgum, which is certainly located under the modern urban sprawl of Maraş, remains a desideratum. At Zincirli, a series of palatial structures housed the local central authority, perhaps with subordinate officials ruling in the monumental architecture of Sakçagözü or Gerçin Höyük. By the end of the Middle Iron Age, Zincirli was home to an Assyrian palace indicative of the change in administration and governance in the region.

Cilicia was home to substantial monumental architectural complexes attributed to Hittite administration at several sites across the region during the Late Bronze Age; all of these sites

experienced a decline, in power if not occupation, and in many cases also some scale of destruction during the transition to the Iron Age. Sirkeli Höyük appears to have rebounded most quickly with a central authority evident in the large-scale building projects dated to the 12th century BCE, though there remains no evidence of political control outside of the site itself. Conversely, the Middle Iron Age bore evidence of additional administrative complexes and possible palaces as several sites, including Kinet Höyük, Misis Höyük, Domuztepe, and Karatepe. By the later 8th century BCE, many of these architectural indices of political institutions were replaced by Assyrian structures indicating a change in administration of the region; a lack of destructions or evidence of violence connected with these changes suggests a relatively peaceful transfer of power. Alternatively, a lack of Assyrian administrative evidence at Sirkeli Höyük may reflect an incomplete control of the region, or at least a less direct application of rule in some settlements.

All of the micro-regions of the northeast Mediterranean appear to have experienced the same hiatus of political institutions, at least those represented by architectural remains, during the Early Iron Age. However, their developmental trajectories during the Middle Iron Age appear to diverge, with each micro-region featuring different assemblages of governmental and administrative architecture associated with their respective institutions of rule, at least until the progressive provincialization of the region by Assyrian, illustrative a diverse and variable political landscape developed through processes of glocalization over the course of the Iron Age.

This image is similarly reflected by the inscribed and sculptural monuments of each micro-region within the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean. The Late Bronze Age sculptural monuments of the northern Levant and Cilicia are indicative of Hittite political authority, while

the region of the Bend is marked by an absence of evidence, perhaps suggesting a political void. The relief orthostats and inscribed portal figures of the temple of the Storm God at Aleppo are the only monuments reflecting institutions of kingship and political authority dated before the 10th century BCE. After this time, figurative and inscribed stelae illustrative the political identities of various rulers were produced in Gurgum and Palastina. Statues of political figures illustrating their connections to the divine and expressing their own political identities were erected in the northern Levant at Tell Tayinat and in the Bend in the two political capitals of Gurgum and Sam'al. Only in the 8th century were urban monuments reflecting local political institutions employed in Cilicia at the site of Karatepe with an inscribed statue of the ruler Azatiwada and elaborate relief orthostats in two gate complexes. However, during the 9th and 8th centuries BCE, the northern Levant and Cilicia also received intrusive political monuments from foreign polities including Bit-Agusi, Hamath and Lu'aš, Karkemiš, and Assyria, together indicative of an increasingly diverse political landscape of the region, as well as a more complex sociopolitical dynamic in these micro-regions.

The use of particular writing systems on the political monuments of the Core Region was an active, politically motivated choice by individual rulers, often institutionalized within each polity, who sought to express their political identity through text, image, and text as image. In Palastina/Patina/Unqi, all inscriptions were composed in Hieroglyphic Luwian until the polity lost is political prominence in the later 9th and 8th centuries, after which the northern Levant also bore monuments with Aramaic and Assyrian inscriptions coinciding with the rise and expansion of other political bodies. Gurgum/Marqas similarly utilized only Hieroglyphic Luwian in the expressions of its political institutions, seemingly illustrating a predominantly Anatolian quality,

at least until Assyrian provincialization. Yadiya/Sam'al, on the other hand, demonstrates an incredibly complex linguistic landscape in connection with its political monuments, utilizing Phoenician, Sam'alian, and Aramaic inscriptions in the monumental productions of only a few generations of rulers, not to mention Hieroglyphic Luwian on an administrative tool, namely the signet ring of Bar-Rākib; the specific choices of each ruler appears to reflect their individual political identities and their own understanding of their institution of kingship. Lastly, Hiyawa featured political monuments inscribed with Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician, often together as bilingual texts, a unique feature of Hiyawa, which was almost certainly used as means of distinguishing the kingdom's political identity from its neighbors. The use of particular languages in expressions of political identity connected the kingdoms of the northeast Mediterranean through their participation in various language communities, however, their distinct ideologies of kingship, along with their place in particular social groups, combined with the chosen scripts and languages of expression to construct intersectional identities, which distinguished each ruler and polity from its neighbors.

Together, this monumental – architectural and sculptural – and inscribed evidence provides substantial information regarding political communities and factions within and between polities, as well as for specific political identities of individual rulers and the ideologies of kingship that developed within each polity over the course of the Iron Age in the northeast Mediterranean. Political factions appear in the 9th century textual evidence of the Core Region, and they are particularly evident during periods of interaction with foreign polities, especially Assyria. While most of the evidence for this development comes from Assyrian sources, political infighting was already common occurrence in the Core Region during the Late Bronze Age, and

it seems natural that those vying for power would compete with each other using ideological differences to gain advantages, regardless of existing political affiliations. The best emic evidence for such political factions comes from the inscription of the Sam'alian king Kulamuwa, in which he describes a division in the local population and his effort to unite them. Political fragmentation is also evident in Palastina with pro- and anti-Assyrian factions described in Assyrian sources, and a similar situation may be interpreted in Hiyawa based on the distinctions within the political messaging of Awarika and Azatiwada (Lovejoy 2022).

Political identity is best understood as the active construction of expressions of authority and political beliefs by individual rulers, while ideologies of kingship reflect the development of political institutions within each polity. Thus, a ruler's political identity may inform and change the institution of kingship within a polity, but it is primarily tied to the individual ruler, whereas the institution itself is bound to the kingdom. The political institutions of each polity within the Core Region developed independently over the course of the Iron Age and are reflected in the monumental productions of their kings.

Palastinean kingship appears most closely tied to a Late Bronze Age Hittite legacy, which is reflected in the language and scripts used for local monuments, the names of several kings, and the connection between Palastinean kings and the Storm God, particularly at the temple of Aleppo, previously controlled by the Hittite empire. Additionally, there is limited evidence for highly positioned female royal counterparts within the institution of rule, which may reflect a continuity of local northern Levantine traditions that existed already at nearby Alalakh during the Late Bronze Age. The institution of Gurgumean kingship employs the same script and language for political monuments, but very few royal names resemble those of Hittite kings, suggesting

then an Anatolian origin, rather than a Hittite one. Peculiar to Gurgum are a particular concern of deep royal genealogies within royal inscriptions, the development of royal titles from none at all to using the dual titles of 'Gurgumean king' and 'the just one', and the almost total absence of claims of divine legitimacy by its rulers. Sam'alian kingship is characterized by significant linguistic diversity in local royal inscriptions written in Phoenician, Sam'alian, and Aramaic, as well as in the royal *onomastica*, which alternate irregularly between Anatolian and Semitic, probably indicating a diverse, cosmopolitan community. Unique to the Sam'alian institution is the king's relationship with the local dynastic god Rākib-El in addition to the Storm God Hadad, as well as the common iconography of the lotus flower held in relief representations of its rulers.[122] Finally, the institution of Hiyawan kingship is best defined by its use of multilingualism in the royal inscriptions of its rulers and their divine legitimacy provided by the Storm Gods Tarhunza and Ba'al. These institutions of kingship developed in part due to the influences of individual rulers who asserted their own political identities during their rules, often resulting in lasting institutional change. In sum, they illustrate the diverse and glocalized political landscape that characterized the complex northeast Mediterranean during the Iron Age and demonstrate the distinct trajectories along which the institutions of neighboring polities developed despite experiencing such similar external influences and historical developments from the collapse of the Late Bronze Age political system to the Assyrian expansion and provincialization of the region.

[122] Note, however, that this may be an indicator that the ruler is deceased at the time of monumentalization (Section 5.4.3).

5. Cultic Landscape

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, 'cultic landscape' will be used as a conceptual framework through which we can understand the production of and engagement with sacred space and cult practice. Following Adam Smith (2003), a tripartite organization will be employed, which separates the experiential impact of the built environment of sacred spaces, the perceptual effect of monuments with cultic function in various lived spaces, and the imaginative sense of cultic communities established by shared cults and cult practices. However, while Smith sought to examine the constitution of civil authority in his investigation of political landscape, this chapter aims to explore the intersection between local and regional cultic institutions and their development through time and space, as well as to define cultic communities across the region whose identities were, in part, constructed around these institutions. To this end, the institution of the temple, alongside less formal sacred spaces like sanctuaries and shrines, will be investigated in each micro-region in order to understand local traditions of cultic architecture, episodes of continuity or discontinuity, possible cultural influences, and especially to determine which cults or deities were given permanent space for worship within the landscape of the Core Region (Section 5.2). An analysis of sculptural and inscribed monuments from each region will follow, exploring traditions of representation of particular deities and rituals, various epithets and qualities assigned to deities in accompanying inscriptions, and the apparent use of and response to monuments in cult practices. A vast number of these monuments is preserved today, providing information about individual cults and their related communities; since they have never been systematically investigated together in regional and diachronic context, they are presented in a

detailed and commented list, which provides the foundation for the subsequent analysis of cultic institutions and cultic communities (Section 5.3). Finally, a series of specific cults will be treated to determine their developmental trajectory in space and time, as well as to consider the significance of shared practices of worship and divergent traditions and conceptualizations of deities within similar local cultic institutions (Section 5.4). From these analyses, it will become clear that the cultic landscape of the Core Region was far from uniform, neither spatially nor temporally. While many Late Bronze Age traditions persisted into the Early Iron Age – especially temple institutions of the northern Levant and the cultural dominance of the cult of the Storm God – customs of monumental representation of deities and the deceased were developed in the subsequent centuries, expressed differently in local communities. The innovation of unique cults and the formulation of customs related to ancestor veneration occurred in select regions, supporting an image of a diverse cultic landscape bound together by occasional threads of shared beliefs and practices (Section 5.5).

5.2 Monumental Architecture: Temples, Sanctuaries, and Shrines

In the following section, architecture associated with cultic institutions and cult practice will be examined to understand processes of institutional change and continuity reflected in the experiential effect that the built environment has on the cultic landscape. The dataset for this analysis consists of physical structures that house deities and their simulacra, such as temples and open-air sanctuaries, and those that provide space for cult practices, such as shrines. These architectural categories are distinguished by their accessibility – non-private temples and sanctuaries, albeit certainly restricted to certain people, as opposed to private shrines – and by their context – urban temples and shrines, as opposed to extra-urban open-air sanctuaries and

rock-cut shrines. It is important to note that these are modern distinctions, not paralleled in the ancient worldview. In the language communities of the Core Region, a "house of (the) god(s)" was a shared concept and served as the primary means of designating a non-private sacred space,[123] whereas private cult space does not appear to have warranted its own terminology beyond "chamber/room" or "tomb".[124]

Identifying the function of a room or building is not a simple task and may not always be possible. In the case of temples, there are several common architectural plans that may assist in their determination (Trigger 1990; Renfrew 1994).[125] However, these evolved over time and were often affected by renovations and other subsequent interventions. In these cases, and with open-air sanctuaries whose shape is often molded to the landscape, and with shrines that may appear as a single undefined space, material assemblages that are indicative of specific cult practices may be used to distinguish a sacred cultic space. In many cases, buildings may only be defined as non-domestic, without a narrower functional determination, and these are treated here as potential evidence, but clearly labeled as questionable (Pucci 2008: esp. 11-13).

The evidence from each region will be presented separately in a rough chronological organization, providing an illustration of micro-regional tendencies during consecutive phases. Processes of change and periods of prolonged continuity will be highlighted, illuminating parallel developments in the institutions centered around and housed within these cultic structures.

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[123] Luwian: DEUS.DOMUS(-*MI*)(-)*ha*(*n*)*t/d*-; Phoenician: *bt ('lm)*, but also *'šrt*, *ḥyt*, *ḥṣr* (court-temple), and *mqdš* (sanctuary?); Aramaic: *byt ('lm)*; and Sam'alian: *byt 'lm*.
[124] Sam'alian: *syr/d* (chamber, shrine); *mqm* (place, tomb, shrine); *ḥdr* (burial chamber).
[125] For the archaeology of cult and religion, see Renfrew (1985: esp. 11-26; 2011: esp. 684-685 with earlier references therein) and Insoll (2004).

5.2.1 Northern Levant

Several important temples existed in the northern Levant during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. The temple of the Storm God at Aleppo, first constructed in the Early Bronze Age and serving a prominent role in the region during the Middle Bronze Age, was renovated while under Hittite imperial control during the 13th century BCE. This renovation included a significant reorganization of the internal plan, interpreted as a reorientation from a direct-axis to bent-axis approach to the primary deity, as well as the addition of several decorative features, such as 'false windows' and several relief orthostats (Kohlmeyer 2000; Gonnella, Khayyata, and Kohlmeyer 2005; Kohlmeyer 2009: 194-196; Kohlmeyer 2012: 61-63, 66-68). An image of the Storm God in a smiting posture, found beside a relief orthostat of the Early Iron Age king Taita I of Palastina, is also attributed by the excavators to the Late Bronze Age, however, the possibility that it was produced along with the later Early Iron Age renovation cannot be ruled out. Epigraphic evidence also suggests that there may have been a temple or temples dedicated to Hebat and Šarruma at Aleppo during the late 14th to early 13th century BCE (ALEPPO 1; Laroche 1956; lastly, Payne 2015: 80-81), but other structures have not been located archaeologically at the site.

A second major temple excavated in the region is the temple of 'ayn Dara, north of Aleppo on one of the main routes connecting Aleppo with the Amuq Plain. While a secure date for the foundation of the temple at 'ayn Dara is lacking, a similar period of construction during the 13th century BCE is plausible considering similarities in plan and decorative scheme with the temple of Aleppo; while it is not certain to whom the temple was dedicated, the fragmentary

sculptural evidence from the structure suggests either the Storm God or Ištar-Šauška (Abu Assaf 1990; see also, Novák 2012: 50).

These two temples suggest a Hittite project of cultic sponsorship and subsequent post-Hittite process of renewal. A similar circumstance might pertain to a third temple, namely the temple of Ištar at Alalakh. While the site was under Hittite control during the 14th century BCE, the temple was the object of direct imperial involvement and sponsorship, which is demonstrated by the temple orthostat depicting the Prince and Great Priest Tudhaliya and his wife Asnu-Hepa (Yener 2013; 2017; Akar 2017). And while the settlement of Alalakh had degraded by the Late Bronze II period and was largely abandoned, the temple of Ištar remained in use through much of the 13th century BCE, suggesting a persistence of cultic institutions beyond the decline of political and social institutions (Woolley 1955; Yener 2017: 215-218; Montesanto and Pucci 2019: 95).

Together, these Late Bronze Age temples provide an image of a robust network of local cultic institutions connected with the primary deities of the Storm God and Ištar-Šauška and communities associated with their worship, as well as with cult practice, temple organization, and divine representation, all supported by Hittite imperial initiatives, which both influenced local traditions and aided in their persistence.

The temples at Late Bronze Age Ugarit, on the other hand, paint a different, entirely local picture, with cultic communities and institutions oriented to the south with influences from the Levant and Egypt, and to the east with occasional Hurro-Mittanian influence, rather than from Hatti to the north. The so-called ‘Hurrian Temple’, first constructed in the Middle Bronze Age, was used as a palatial or royal temple through the Late Bronze Age, along with an adjacent

pillared building that provided a monumental connection between palace and temple. Inside the temple, finds include gold- and electrum-plated copper figurines of a seated goddess and one of a standing god, as well as an iron axe with a copper and gold handle adorned with a boar (Yon 2006: 49; Strosahl 2021: 364-367). Another structure set among the residential structures of the city center has been interpreted as a temple based on its plan, which is comparable to sanctuaries on Cyprus and in the southern Levant, and a large number of rhyta, integral to libations during ceremonies. It also included a cult stand and a stone statuette of the god El (Yon 2006: 82-3). Two temples stood at the top of the acropolis, apparently the central cult structures of the site, both in the local form of tower temples. The temple of Ba'al was surrounded by a small number of stelae, including one that depicted the Storm God himself and another that represented Anat, his sister and ally. Finds also include several large stone boat anchors, which were discovered next to a large stone altar in the temple's courtyard and were probably dedications by sailors to Ba'al – the temple's high position on the mound and visibility from the port likely imply that it served as a landmark or lighthouse for ships (Yon 2006: 109-110; Callot and Monchambert 2011: 36-48, 53-56, 92-95; Strosahl 2021: 354-355). The temple of Dagan was similarly surrounded by stelae, though only undecorated examples with simple dedicatory inscriptions were found; a stone platform with sockets for stelae was found along the outer wall of the vestibule, perhaps comparable to the "Obelisk Temple" at Byblos (Yon 2006: 114; Callot and Monchambert 2011: 73-78; Teba and Theodossopoulos 2019: 474-477; Strosahl 2021: 357-359). Notably, this tradition of decorating public sacred spaces with stelae in Ugarit stands in contrast to the practice of elaborating such spaces with relief orthostats in the other major temples of the northern Levant, particularly those controlled more closely by the Hittite empire. Likewise, the

presence of an altar before the temple of Ba'al and within its *temenos* is unparalleled in the temples of Aleppo, 'ayn Dara, and Alalakh. Together, this evidence clearly attests to distinct institutions related to the construction of sacred space and likely also differences in the ways that local cultic communities worshiped at such sites.

Between the two great temples of Ba'al and Dagan was a structure that likely housed the temples' administrative staff, including the high priest. Within this building were found a cache of 74 weapons, utensils, and bronze tools, several with dedicatory inscriptions, as well as a series of mythological poems of Ugaritic literature, including what is known as the *Baal Cycle* (Yon 2006: 111). A domestic mortuary cult is suggested by burial vaults and tombs found in several residences, sometimes with substantial associated rooms, e.g., the House of Rasapabu, where the mortuary area takes up more space than the domestic rooms (Yon 2006: 72), or the House of Yabninu, where two separate funerary chambers were discovered in a single, albeit quite large, domestic complex (Yon 2004: 51-54). The royal family also participated in this mortuary cult, indicated by the large stone burial vaults located within the palace (Yon 2004: 38-40).[126]

The cultic landscape of the northern Levant during the Early Iron Age demonstrates surprising continuity, unseen elsewhere in the Core Region. The temples of Aleppo and 'ayn Dara survived the Late Bronze Age fragmentation and subsequent vacuum of political powers in the region and even demonstrated the earliest signs of a return to prosperity and stability (d'Alfonso and Lovejoy 2023). The temple of the Storm God at Aleppo was yet again renovated,

[126] A royal mortuary cult is also supported by a small number of ritual texts, for which, see Pardee (2002: 1-8, 195-210) for an introduction to the texts and one such example. David Schloen has argued for the agency of the deceased in Ugaritic mortuary cults, stressing their role in preserving the patrimonial household through the copresence of the dead with the living and the temporal continuity of a great number of generations within the same home (2001: 342-347).

this time by king Taita I of Palastina, during the 11th century BCE. These renovations included new relief orthostats, new portal figures, a relief carving of the king facing that of the Storm God, and several inscriptions. The excavators also interpret a reorientation of the space, returning to a direct-axis approach towards a new primary divine figure, however, the elaboration of the space around the Storm God relief with royal figure and monumental inscription suggests, rather, a continuity of the bent-axis design (Kohlmeyer 2009: 197-200; Aro 2010: 5; Hawkins 2011; Kohlmeyer 2012: 64-65, 68-69). The temple at ʻayn Dara, believed to have been dedicated either to the Storm God or Ištar-Šauška, was similarly renovated with orthostats whose stylistic comparison suggests that the work was also commissioned by Taita I (Abu Assaf 1990; Kohlmeyer 2009; 2012; Harrison 2009; 2012; Novák 2012). At Tell Afis, a new, probably *in antis*, temple to the Storm God was built and renovated between the 11th and early 10th century BCE; finds within the space include a cylinder seal depicting the Storm God and several vessels and other objects associated with ritual behavior (Soldi 2009: 106-108; Mazzoni 2012: 24-26; Mazzoni 2014: 47-51; Mazzoni 2019: 311-312, 318-319). This Early Iron Age new construction or renovations at each excavated temple of the region indicate that the local cultic landscape not only survived the collapse of the Late Bronze Age political systems but returned to prominence soon after and long before political institutions or infrastructure were evident elsewhere. This continuity of sacred spaces and cult practices also suggests the survival of local cultic communities and their traditions of worship within the region, despite the major socio-political upheaval of the during the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age transition, including the destruction and abandonment of Ugarit, the shifting settlement pattern of the Amuq (Yener 2005; Batiuk

2007; Avşar, Akar, and Pearson 2019), and the changes in power over major cult centers like Aleppo and ‘ayn Dara.

In the following centuries, this landscape changed considerably. The Aleppo temple was renovated for a final time ca. 900 BCE with the addition of several new orthostats before its subsequent conflagration and abandonment. The temple at ‘ayn Dara also appears to have been renovated in the 10th and again in the 9th to mid-8th century BCE. In both cases, these renovations are interpreted based on stylistic analysis and the interpreted displacement of relief orthostats. The temple of the Storm God at Tell Afis probably remained in use until around the late 8th to 7th century BCE, when a series of two new temples were built over it, the last of which bears substantial Neo-Assyrian influence, and may be attributed to Assyrian occupation or administration of the site (Mazzoni 2012: 25-35; Mazzoni 2014: 45-47; Cecchini 2014: 58-61). There is also possibly a mid-10th to mid-9th century BCE temple located within the domestic space of Tell Afis, suggested by what Stefania Mazzoni has interpreted as an altar; however, this interpretation is doubted by Fabrizio Venturi on the basis of the poor preservation of the structure’s plan and finds (Mazzoni 1998: 165-166; Venturi 2007: 187; Mazzoni 2012: 27-29; Venturi 2020: 37-40). At Tell Tayinat, the occupational successor of Tell Atçana in the Amuq, two temples *in antis* were constructed between the mid-9th and mid-8th century BCE, possibly serving as the divine residences of the Storm God and his consort, as suggested already by Timothy Harrison (2012: 19). Both temples were renovated during the period of Assyrian occupation in the late 8th to early 7th century BCE, and a large platform was built nearby, expanding what Harrison describes as a ‘sacred precinct’ in imitation of Assyrian practice (Harrison 2009: 184-186; Harrison 2011b: 35-36; Harrison 2012; Harrison and Osborne 2012).

At this time, it appears that the smaller of the two temples (Building XVI) was reoriented towards Nabu; the tablet collection kept in the *adyton* of the temple finds comparanda in the Temple of Nabu at Nimrud, where eight other copies of Esarhaddon's loyalty oath were found (Harrison 2012: 16). The larger temple (Building II) may have also received a new occupant, perhaps Nabu's consort Tašmetu, but its greater size likely indicates that it remained the primary cultic structure in the area. Thus, a continuity as a temple of the Storm God, who appears to have remained the head of the local pantheon, may be more likely (Petrovich 2016: 110-141). The intentional destruction and deposition of earlier local monumental statuary, perhaps the focus of dynastic or ancestor cults, and the prominence of the Assyrian loyalty oath tablet within the new temple supports a dramatic reimagining of cult practice at Tell Tayinat (Harrison 2011a; Harrison 2011b: 34; Lauinger 2011; Harrison 2012: 16; Harrison et al. 2018; Denel and Harrison 2018: 369-370). While less secure, it is also possible that rooms within the *bit hilani* and palace structures, dated between the 10th and mid-8th century BCE, may have included rooms with cultic functions (Harrison 2001: 125-126). It is also during this period, between the 9th and 8th century BCE, that an Assyrian open-air sanctuary was created at Karabur, located about 25 km south of Antakya. This sanctuary comprises conical granite outcroppings spread over an area of about 100 m, including four such outcroppings with reliefs depicting divine figures and symbols, and at least one worshiper (Taşyürek 1975: 172-180). The eroded state of the reliefs and lack of inscriptions do not permit a more precise dating of the sacred space, and the variety of symbols and iconography suggest that it may have served a multitude of deities, perhaps including both those of Syro-Levantine and Assyrian panthea. A new temple district was also constructed at Tell Tweini between the 10th and mid-9th century BCE, including what is interpreted as an *in*

antis temple structure along with a walled, cobblestone-paved courtyard and plastered ashlar platform with carved hole suggestive of drainage for libations or sacrifices; the excavators interpret that sacred space as Phoenician based on architectural and material comparanda at Sarepta and Enkomi, though perhaps these connections would more precisely imply that the space was constructed by a community with an understanding of a Cypro-Phoenician cultural context; in any case, it is unclear to which deity or cult the space may have been dedicated (Bretschneider et al. 2000: 87-96; Al-Maqdissi 2007: 62-63; Bretschneider et al. 2008). Public buildings elsewhere at Tell Tweini have also been interpreted with a sacred function, but only tentatively so – they are just as likely elite residences or administrative structures (Bretschneider 2008: 44; Bretschneider et al. 2019: 10-11).[127] Lastly, while Çatal Höyük appears to have remained without any administrative or cultic structures for the majority of the Iron Age, a structure dated to the end of the 8th or early 7th century BCE has been interpreted as a possible shrine due to similarities in its reconstructed plan with the *bit hilani* (Pucci 2019: 126-127, 295-299); this is, however, tenuous and the lack of significant finds from the structure makes any interpretation of little import.

It is clear that if the Early Iron Age was a period of continuity from the Late Bronze Age, the Middle Iron Age was rather a period of change and diversification of the cultic landscape in the northern Levant. The central position of the Storm God in the cultic institutions of the region appears to have waned, or it at least ceded its dominant position in sacred constructed space, allowing for a greater plurality of temples across the region. This is not exactly clear from the

[127] The monumental Building A produced a 12 cm-tall bronze statuette of a naked goddess, along with a necklace and two cylinder seals, one of which depicts a hero attacking a Pegasus and has been dated to the early Neo-Assyrian period (Bretschneider 2008: 44).

textual sources, where the Storm God remains at the head of most panthea, however, with the intrusion of several foreign influences, especially over the 9th to 7th century BCE, an increased diversity of cultic communities and the institutions central to their identities appears to be a reasonable interpretation. The intensifying Assyrianization towards the end of the period likewise appears to have overshadowed local cultic institutions or at least reframed them within the Assyrian worldview.

5.2.2 The Bend

While excavated sites are few in number, the region north of the Amuq and east of the Amanus was apparently only ephemerally occupied, at least until the Middle Iron Age. The Late Bronze II period is absent in the occupational phases of all excavated sites, and while illicit excavations at the site of Gerçin Höyük suggest a substantial Iron Age occupation, perhaps extending back into the Early Iron Age or Late Bronze Age, it is only in the 9th to 8th century BCE that a cultic character can be inferred, based on the discovery of two funerary monuments on and near the mound, suggesting the characterization of a royal necropolis or site of ancestor worship (von Luschan 1893: 44-55; https://gercin-excavations.de/en/project). The statuary at the stone quarry and sculpture workshop of Yesemek, much of which is cultic in character, is dated mostly to the 10th to 9th century BCE; while this dating is not definite, the abundance of monuments in a standardized form demonstrates an institutionalized practice of decorating monumental spaces – urban, palatial, and sacred – with protective portal figures and orthostats decorated, in some cases, with mythological scenes (Alkım 1974; Temizsoy 1992: 303; Tuğcu 2012: 1-16, 64-79, 86-87; Başkaya and Türk 2014: 283-284). The most supportive evidence for this comes from the site of nearby Zincirli Höyük, where several sculptures from the Yesemek

workshop were discovered (Duru 2004: 94). Reoccupied in the mid-9th century BCE after a hiatus that lasted from the Middle Bronze Age, Zincirli Höyük served as the royal seat of the kings of Sam'al. It featured a sequence of palaces and *bit hilani* structures that may have had rooms with cultic functions. Panamuwa I also claims to have built a temple for the gods of the city during the mid-8th century BCE, however, it is possible that 'the city' refers to a settlement at Gerçin Höyük, where the monumental inscription was found (HADAD INSCRIPTION). In the late 8th century BCE, an extramural temple was constructed south of the walled urban space of Zincirli Höyük, probably attributed to Assyrian influence and sometimes interpreted as a *bit akiti*.[128] Poor preservation makes further interpretation problematic, however, an orthostat fragment depicting a 'tree of life' and a male figure holding a bunch of grapes and a stalk of grain was found between the city gate and the temple, suggesting a decorated processional way (von Luschan 1893, 1898, 1902, 1911; Wartke 2005: 67-73; Schloen and Fink 2007; Pucci 2008: 15-80, 546-547; Schloen and Fink 2009: 215-218; Herrmann 2014; Pucci 2015: 44-56; Herrmann and Schloen 2016: 270; Herrmann and Schloen 2018; Schloen, Herrmann, and Kalaycı 2019: 528-530). Finally, the palace with a *bit hilani* at Sakçagözü, dated to the 8th century BCE, may have had rooms with cultic functions, as well (Garstang 1908: 103-114; Garstang 1912-13: 68-71; Du Plat Taylor et al. 1950: 57-72; Ussishkin 1966: 15-23; Çifçi 2019; 371-378). Further north, while no architecture or settlements have been excavated, an abundance of funerary monuments from the region of Maraş may indicate a landscape populated with extramural burial sites or loci of ancestor worship; alternatively, these monuments may have been removed from nearby urban settlements, probably the ancient capital of Gurgum,

[128] The *bit akiti* was a Mesopotamian extramural temple that received a procession of the gods and was the venue for subsequent celebrations during the annual New Year's festival (Debourse 2022).

Maraş/Marqas itself, then indicating some form of urban sacred space. In either case, these monuments appear to represent a community of elite individuals who shared in traditions of a mortuary cult that included practices of commemoration featuring stelae with representations of the dead often seated before a banquet table (see Section 5.4.3).

The only definitive sacred space in the region is the late temple at Zincirli Höyük, and this may be an intrusive element from a period of Assyrian control. Sacred space from the period of local independence is suggested by the funerary monuments of Sam'al and Gurgum, but the entire known corpus is without secure archaeological context. We can thus interpret a substantial and widespread regional institution of ancestor worship and funerary cult practice, along with an elite community connected with these traditions, however, we cannot connect them to any physical sacred space.

5.2.3 Cilicia

During the Late Bronze Age, Cilicia was home to several architectural features with cultic function, most attributed to Hittite construction. At Sirkeli Höyük, a stone building featuring a stairway leading up to a libation installation comprising a natural stone platform with three so-called cup-marks and associated with two rock-cut reliefs of the Hittite kings Muwatalli II and possibly Mursili III is interpreted as a shrine or open-air sanctuary – perhaps a Hittite ^{NA4}*ḫekur*, a mortuary monument for the cult of deceased kings – where libations could be poured before the images of the imperial rulers of Kizzuwadna (van den Hout 2002: 89-91; Balza and Mora 2011; Kozal and Novák 2013: 233; Novák 2019-2020: 152-155; Novák et al. 2021: 117). A monumental structure atop the mound of Tarsus is interpreted as a Hittite temple due to similarities with the architectural plans of several Hittite temples at Hattusa, however this

identification is not certain as the material finds were inconclusive with regard to the building's function (Goldman 1956: 49-50; Trameri 2020: 440-1). Building A atop the citadel mound of Tatarlı Höyük is also identified as a Hittite temple due to its monumental walls and a variety of zoomorphic libation vessels found within; seven nearby springs have led excavators to suggest that the site was the center of a water cult (Girginer 2011: 133-135; Girginer, Oyman-Girginer, and Akıl 2012: 110-112). In contrast to the abovementioned cultic structures of Late Bronze Age Cilicia, Kilise Tepe's Stele Building demonstrates a separation from Hittite institutions, apparently constructed in distinctly local traditions. Indeed, it replaced an earlier Hittite administrative complex known as the North-West Building. The structure is interpreted as having a dual function of storage and cultic activity based on the discovery of an undecorated stele and an altar in the central room of the building, suggesting perhaps a shrine within a larger administrative complex (Bouthillier et al. 2014; Blakeney 2017: 46-47).

While the specific cults practiced at each site cannot be determined with the current evidence, certain characteristics of the institution that guided interactions with sacred spaces and the formation of cultic communities may be illustrated. First, it is apparent that Hittite kings were obligated to commit significant resources and administer their royal patronage to local cults by some mandate of politico-cultic tradition. This is supported by the appointment of Hittite princes as priests of Kizzuwadna in the 14th century during the reigns of kings Arnuwanda I and Suppiluliuma I of Hatti (Trameri 2020: 408). Additionally, the presence of cup-marks at the sanctuary of Sirkeli Höyük and the discovery of libation vessels within the temple of Tatarlı Höyük suggest a common cult practice, at least in eastern Cilicia. The excavators of each site have attempted to identify their respective Late Bronze Age settlement with the sacred site of

Lawazantiya – the locus of an important cult of Ištar-Šauška of which the Hittite Queen Pudu-Heba was a priestess – or with the similarly sacred site of Kummani in the case of Sirkeli Höyük (Kozal and Novak 2013: 230; Girginer et al. 2013) – the local center of the cult of the Storm God Teššup, worshiped by Palliya, king of Kizzuwadna, and perhaps the seat of the Hittite princes assigned as priests of Kizzuwadna. Should these suggestions prove correct, these nearby sites could have served as the cultic center of Late Bronze Age Plain Cilicia.

What will become striking later is that these cultic institutions of sacred space apparently ceased to exist in the Iron Age, quite contrary to the situation east of the Amanus Mountains and likely suggesting a significant disruption to cultic communities and the ways that they engaged with the divine world. Several Cilician sites bear evidence of structures that appear to be more than domestic in nature, but interpretations of function must remain speculative. Sirkeli Höyük produced the earliest Iron Age architecture after a brief occupational hiatus, including monumental structures within the walled citadel dating to the mid- to late 12th century BCE. While this may include a structure with a cultic function, it is notable that the area with the previous shrine/sanctuary and reliefs was seemingly not included in the new urban plan (Novák 2020: 215-220; Sollee et al. 2020: 221-224). The apsidal structure at Tarsus, dating between the mid-12th to mid-10th century BCE (Goldman 1963: 3-6; Yalçın 2013: 200; Ünlü 2015: 519-520), or the post-hole ring/apse at Kilise Tepe, dating to the beginning of the 12th century BCE (Postgate and Thomas 2007: 121; Blakeney 2017: 46-7; Heffron et al. 2017: 118-120), are clearly ‘special’ in character, but no material finds suggest a cult function; both were quickly replaced with typical domestic architecture in subsequent phases. Archaeologically, it seems that Cilicia lost its regional cultic significance during the Early Iron Age, and with no textual

evidence to indicate otherwise, it appears that the end of the Late Bronze Age also resulted in the end of major widespread cultic institutions in the region.

Evidence of institutions connected to sacred space from the Middle Iron Age is more diverse, but no less ambiguous. Sirkeli Höyük retained monumental architecture atop the citadel and also featured a secondary mound within the lower town that likely featured a structure of significance, perhaps a temple, but an elite residence is just as likely; unfortunately, much of this mound was destroyed by modern construction and it is unlikely that any definitive evidence will arise (Novák 2020: 218). Kinet Höyük produced non-domestic architecture as early as the 10th century, with a structure dated to the 8th century tentatively interpreted as a palace, but it could have been cultic in function; this building was emptied and burned by the late 8th century with materials ritually deposited in a pit just outside the door (Gates 2003: 408). A multi-room building and subsequent fortress at the newly founded Misis Höyük, dated to the mid-8th century BCE, may have featured rooms with cultic functions, but this is speculative (D'Agata 2019a and 2019b). Tatarlı Höyük was reoccupied in the 9th century BCE, at which time the Late Bronze Age monumental temple Building A was renovated and converted into a *bit hilani*[129] and used through the 8th century BCE, possibly with cultic function (Ünal and Girginer 2010: 275; Girginer and Oyman-Girginer 2020). Monuments found at Domuztepe from the 9th to 8th century and at Karatepe from the late 8th to early 7th century BCE are indicative of a cult-site dedicated to the Storm God, perhaps 'of the Vineyard' at the latter site. A structure near the monumental gateway where a statue of the Storm God was discovered has been interpreted as a shrine, and the large administrative structure within the citadel walls has been interpreted as a 'temple-

[129] For a discussion on the term *bit hilani*, see Section 4.2.

palace', but no material finds have supported these determinations (Bossert et al. 1950; Alkım 1952; Ussishkin 1969; Winter 1979; Darga 1986: 399-400; Çambel and Özyar 2003: 122-144; Özyar 2013; Sicker-Akman, Bossert, and Fischer-Bossert 2014).

While discovered out of archaeological context, several monuments suggest additional sacred spaces in 8th century BCE Cilicia. A statue of the Storm God riding a bull-drawn chariot was discovered in a field near the village of Çineköy, very likely discarded during transport to or from a nearby urban center around the time of its creation (Tekoğlu et al. 2000); a context similar to that of the statue at Karatepe would be reasonable, suggesting sacred urban space, but not necessarily sacred architecture. This would also suggest an institution of monumental representation and cult worship that likely spanned much of plain Cilicia at that time. A number of other monuments – a royal stele found near Adana (Hawkins, Tosun, and Akdoğan 2013) and two border stelae found at or beyond the eastern frontier of Cilicia (Dinçol et al. 2015) – provide information that is suggestive of other prominent cultic and political institutions, but lend no information regarding temples, shrines, or sanctuaries.

From this evidence, it seems reasonable to suggest that there were no overarching cultic institutions related to sacred space, no traditional models for temple, shrine, or sanctuary architecture, and perhaps no regional cult centers. There is similarly no reference to anything that could be considered an institutionalized conception of sacred space in the textual sources internal to Cilicia during the Iron Age. Local worship may have dominated at a time when Cilicia remained cultically fragmented. Traditions, beliefs, rules of society – that is institutions – may have been determined at the local level, at individual sites or between neighbors, thus suggesting a diversity of cultic communities, at least concerning their customs of engaging with sacred

spaces. This may not be far from the Late Bronze Age situation, outside of the layer of Hittite hegemony – the practice of libation, perhaps also the connection between cult and water source, may be representative of a local institution of worship in the eastern plain. One might even speculate that the location of the statue of the Storm God at Karatepe, overlooking the Ceyhan River at the highest point of the site, may represent a continuity of this local practice, shifting slightly north with the rise of newly dominant settlements and perhaps a local cult center.

5.2.4 Discussion

During the Late Bronze Age, the northern Levant was home to several top-down organized cultic institutions housed in the major temples of Aleppo, ʻayn Dara, Alalakh, and Ugarit, with the cult of the Storm God standing most prominently, followed by those of Ištar-Šauška and Dagan (at least at Ugarit). Structurally, all of these major temples saw substantial change during the Early Iron Age: Ugarit was largely destroyed and completely abandoned; Alalakh declined in prominence and experienced a reduced occupation, with the area around the temple of Ištar persisting beyond the remainder of the settlement; and the temples of Aleppo and ʻayn Dara were both renovated during the 11th century BCE, apparently at the hands of Taita I of Palastina. Additionally, the region saw the construction of a new temple to the Storm God at Tell Afis sometime between the 11th and early 10th century BCE, which, along with the resilience demonstrated by the temples of Aleppo and ʻayn Dara, suggests the survival of local cultic communities and their institutions during a period of substantial sociopolitical change. And while textual and art historical sources indicate a further continuity in the major cultic institutions surrounding the Storm God during the transition to the Middle Iron Age, the evidence from sacred spaces – from urban to landscape – suggests a significant increase in the

diversity of cults and their communities of worship. The temples at Aleppo, ‘ayn Dara, and Tell Afis were all renovated, though they appear to remain dedicated to the Storm God, and new temples appeared at several sites. At Tell Tayinat, two temples were constructed, perhaps dedicated to the Storm God and his consort, and later renovated and rededicated, with one likely remaining for the Storm God and the other reoriented towards the Mesopotamian god Nabu. Further evidence of Assyrian intervention is found at the open-air sanctuary of Karabur with its variety of cultic imagery, while integration with Cypro-Phoenician networks of exchange and interaction is evident in the 10th to mid-9th century BCE temple at Tell Tweini. While many of these changes come at the hands of new or intensified cultural influences and interactions, such as with Assyria and the Mediterranean world, shifting local power dynamics were very likely the cause of other changes, including the multiple renovations to the temples at Aleppo and ‘ayn Dara between the 10th and 8th centuries BCE. In sum, this cultic diversification likely represents a similar increase in the diversity of cultic communities in the region, along with a multiplication of cultic institutions centered around various deities besides the primary focus of worship in the Storm God.

In the Bend, there is no clear information about sacred spaces until the Middle Iron Age, and then only preserved in the cultic institutions reified in a temple and a shrine at Zincirli Höyük, the capital of Sam’al. The shrine of KTMW in the lower town of the settlement illustrates local practices of divine worship and ancestor veneration, while the extramural temple, which may be a product of Assyrian control of the settlement during the late 8th century BCE, suggests a cultic institution involving a procession between, at least, the city gates and the temple. It is likely that buildings or rooms within the settlements at Gerçin Höyük and

Sakçagözü – indeed, also probably elsewhere at Zincirli – served as the seats of cultic institutions or foci or venues for cultic communities, especially considering some of the sculptural evidence at the two sites; however, none have been confidently identified. Likewise, there was almost certainly a temple or other sacred space in or around Maraş, the capital of Gurgum to the north, but a lack of excavations within the heavily populated modern center precludes any understanding of the associated institutions or communities of worship.

Cilicia was a region with several important cult centers during the Late Bronze Age, with a shrine or sanctuary located at Sirkeli Höyük, temples interpreted at Tarsus and Tatarlı Höyük, and a shrine within an administrative complex at Kilise Tepe; with the possible exception of the shrine at Kilise Tepe, all of these sacred spaces appear to reflect predominantly Hittite cultic institutions, including the involvement of Hittite kings and libation rituals, which is supported by historical evidence of Hittite interest in the region and even the appointment of Hittite princes as priests of Kizzuwadna. Quite strikingly, these institutions seemed to have disappeared during the Early Iron Age, when a few 'special' structures at Sirkeli Höyük, Tarsus, and Kilise Tepe may have had some cultic function, but have borne no evidence of any particular cultic institutions or communities. During the Middle Iron Age, similar structures with possible cultic functions were found at Sirkeli Höyük, Kinet Höyük, Misis Höyük, and Tatarlı Höyük, yet none can be confidently described as representing any cultic institution. A structure interpreted as a shrine to hold a statue of the Storm God at Karatepe, along with sculptural evidence from the same site and its neighbor Domuztepe, however, illustrates a diverse cultic community that, much like many settlements in the northern Levant, retained the central institution of the cult of the Storm God as the focus for the construction of sacred urban space.

In sum, the cultic landscapes of each micro-region, at least as they are reflected through the architectural remains of cultic institutions and communities of worship, developed along different local trajectories, especially during the Early Iron Age, despite experiencing much of the same sociopolitical upheaval at the end of the Late Bronze Age at a global level, thus illustrating the glocalized world that was the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean. The cultic institutions of the northern Levant continued mostly uninterrupted within the resilient temples of Aleppo and ʻayn Dara and the new temple at Tell Afis, all dedicated to the Storm God. Cilicia, on the other hand, is marked by a complete loss of Hittite institutions, as every Late Bronze Age sacred space fell into disuse, and they were not replaced throughout the entirety of the Early Iron Age. And the Bend appears to have been a vacuum of sacred spaces – in fact, it appears to have been largely unoccupied with the evidence at hand – during both the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. It is not until the Middle Iron Age with the foundation of Zincirli Höyük at the capital of Sam'al that sacred spaces reflecting cultic institutions appear in the Bend (acknowledging, of course, the lack of archaeological data for the region of Kahramanmaraş). Likewise, Cilicia remains a void of clearly sacred spaces through much of the Middle Iron Age, with none emerging until the late 8th century shrine of Karatepe, and that reflecting an entirely different cultic community from that of the Hittite Late Bronze Age with its own apparently local institutions. The cultic institutions of the northern Levant expanded with great diversity during the Middle Iron Age with temples at Tell Tayinat and Tell Tweini, and the open-air sanctuary at Karabur, many of which were dedicated to deities other than the Storm God, who predominated the cultic landscape of the region during the previous Early Iron Age. Thus, the Middle Iron Age was a period of great cultic diversity, both within and between micro-regions, reflecting a

multitude of distinct, often local institutions, and a variety of cults with distinct communities who adhered to and proliferated them. This diversity within the cultic landscape of the Core Region reflects new and intensified interregional interactions with Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean, as well as shifting sociopolitical dynamics within the wider region, and demonstrates processes of glocalization with distinct yet interconnected local responses to global phenomena.

5. 3 Sculptural and Inscribed Monuments: Statues, Stelae, and Reliefs

In this section, non-architectural monuments, such as statues, stelae, rock reliefs, and decorative orthostats, will be examined as expressions of identity by communities of cult practice and as evidence for the diachronic development of individual cults in micro-regional context. Monuments with textual or visual cultic content, or those erected within sacred spaces or for use in cult practice, will be presented for each micro-region in chronological order to illustrate locally specific processes of cultic resilience, adaptation, and innovation through monumental representations and cultic displays. Funerary monuments without information pertaining to a particular deity or pantheon will be described separately and considered as evidence for elite mortuary cults and institutions of ancestor veneration, as they stood as foci of ritualized behavior and interaction with the deceased. The funerary monuments most characteristic of the Core Region represent a distinct Iron Age innovation of monumental memorialization that was quickly institutionalized across a wide area. While these monuments, mostly stelae, reflect the private, non-royal mortuary cults of individual communities and indeed families, their widespread use suggests a more public transmission of the institution itself. Additionally, that they may have been erected in semi-public spaces, like community shrines – as suggested by the archaeological

context of the KTMW stele in the lower town of Zincirli – implores one to consider them alongside the public institutions associated with cults of the divine as a means of understanding the traditions of veneration – of ancestors and deities – through the production of and interaction with sculptural monuments in the region. Many of these monuments may also be interpreted as celebrative or commemorative of important events or deeds related to the object of monumentalization, i.e., the figure depicted on them, such as in the case of the stele of Larama I of Gurgum (MARAŞ 8; Hawkins 2000: 252-255; Bonatz 2000: C 1); in these cases, I will follow the typology of Dominik Bonatz (2000) and include them here as memorials to those represented, but also in the relevant sections concerning public cultic institutions of the divine, when deities are referenced epigraphically or iconographically (5.3.1.1, 2.1, and 3.1), and political institutions, when information about a ruler or his ideology of kingship is available (4.3).

Particular attention is paid to monumental forms used in each micro-region, to the selection of iconography in pictorial and figural monuments, to scripts chosen for inscribed monuments, and to invocations of deities and venerations of ancestors in the content of inscriptions and illustrations; these criteria will be interpreted together as products of cultic institutions embedded within the communities of the Core Region. While this section mostly consists of a presentation of evidence, it is followed by an examination of individual cults, their developmental trajectories, and the unique role of several local hypostases of certain conceptualizations of divinity. Lastly, this chapter concludes with an analysis of the evidence for private and non-private ancestor veneration, both categories of which were institutionalized, in part, through monumental productions within the cultic landscape.

5.3.1 Northern Levant

5.3.1.1 Monuments Bearing Evidence for Cults to the Divine

A number of monuments reflecting major cultic institutions and their communities of practice were produced in the northern Levant during the Late Bronze age, particularly for the adornment of temples at several urban and cultic centers: Aleppo, ‘ayn Dara, Alalakh, and Ugarit. While most of the reliefs from the temple of the Storm God of Aleppo are dated to the Iron Age, several have been stylistically attributed to the preceding centuries. Namely, the Storm God at the center of the east wall, two hybrid creatures and a mountain god within the pedestal wall reliefs, several bull-men and so-called false windows dispersed on all sides of the main chamber, and a fish genius located by the southern entrance are all dated to the Late Bronze Age (Kohlmeyer 2009: 194-196). The figure of the Storm God is depicted in a smiting posture with right hand raised overhead in a fist and left hand raised before his face, likewise in a fist. He wears an intricately patterned tunic and short skirt, belted at the waist with a crescent pommeled sword on his left hip. His hair falls in a long curl beyond his shoulder and beard extends in a wavy point. His toes are curled, which appears more striking with the flat toes of the adjacent royal figure. He also wears a prominent horned headdress, the center of which is filled with the Anatolian Hieroglyph SOL, and it is topped with a double circle (Fig. 54). Evidence of shared cultic and artistic traditions between Early Iron Age Palastina and Malizi – especially concerning the Storm God – suggests that the major Late Bronze Age temples of the northern Levant provided the continuity of cultic institutions for a much larger region, which consequently allows one to interpret the image of the Storm God at Aleppo as an inspiration for his representations elsewhere, for instance at Arslantepe (Lovejoy 2023; d’Alfonso and Lovejoy 2023). It remains

possible, however, that the Storm God could be part of the 11th century renovation, with the differences between the Storm God and the abutting royal representation of the Palastinean king resulting from different craftsman working on their own component of the larger project.[130]

The temple at ‘ayn Dara also has several reliefs that can be dated to the Late Bronze Age. Unfortunately, many of these were found badly damaged with only the lower portions preserved. This is the case with several figures wearing short skirts with curled toes, likely representing a deity, perhaps the Storm God. One of the better-preserved orthostats depicts a winged Ištar with one leg exposed and bearing a staff in her forward left hand and another implement in her right hand (Fig. 55). False windows and bull-men, much like those found at Aleppo, were also located amongst the relief orthostats, suggesting a similar period of renovation and likewise attributed to Taita I of Palastina. A large rectangular statue base is also dated to the Late Bronze Age; it depicts a number of hybrid creatures and mountain gods with raised hands, as if supporting the now missing statue overhead. Another peculiar feature that may be from the same period is a set of impressed footprints measuring about a meter in length at the entrance to the temple – presumably the footprints of the gods (Abu Assaf 1990; Novák 2012).

While no Late Bronze II monuments with divine representations have been discovered at Alalakh, an orthostat with the royal figures of a prince and great priest Tudhaliya and his princess Asnu-Hepa that is dated to the late 14th to early 13th century BCE was found reused as a paving stone in the Ištar temple (Fig. 6). Since the temple fell out of use by the end of the 13th century BCE, a date for this deposition can be assumed within the same century (Woolley 1955:

[130] Compare with the ARSUZ stelae (Dinçol et al. 2015), where it appears that stone-carvers worked from a set of instructions that left certain details open for interpretation. See, especially, the differences in attire and the shape of the feet.

86-87; Yener 2017: 216-217). The depiction and assignation of a Great Priest at Alalakh in the last century of the city's prominence suggests a persisting strength of the Hittite cultic institutions at the site. Conversely, the removal and reuse of the orthostat as a paving stone by the end of the 13th century may have symbolized the actual displacement of the Hittite cultic institution of the Great Priest and perhaps reflected a shift in the local community away from Hittite traditions and towards a local identity, intentionally distant from the empire.

Several stelae were discovered at Ugarit in the vicinity of the temples on the acropolis, all dated to the Late Bronze Age. The most famous, named "Baal with Thunderbolt," depicts the god in a short skirt with sword belted at his waist, wearing a plunger-shaped headdress with frontal horns. He holds a mace overhead in his right hand and a spear topped with vegetation before him in his left hand. The deity stands on registers that symbolize his domains of land and sea, and a small statue of an anthropomorphic figure in a long dress is depicted before him, likely representing the king of Ugarit (Callot and Monchambert 2011: 97-98). Along with this monument, an Egyptian stele was also discovered near the temple of Ba'al. It depicts two figures above several lines of Egyptian Hieroglyphic text, and above them are captions identifying them as Ba'al of Ṣaphon and a royal scribe named Mami (Fig. 56; Callot and Monchambert 2011: 90-92).

Near the temple of Dagan at Ugarit was another stele, this one undecorated except for a simple Ugaritic cuneiform inscription of three lines, a dedication to Dagan; fragments of a similar undecorated but inscribed stele were also found in the same area. Several statuettes of deities in stone or bronze and gold were found in various parts of the city, including in temples, near the palace, and in residential spaces (Callot and Monchambert 2011: 79-81). Within the

residential space of the city, a stele depicting an archer god wearing a short skirt and conical hat in flat relief, perhaps Rešef, was also found (Yon 2006: 130-5). Its 'mediocre quality' may indicate that this was not a part of the royally sponsored cultic institutions of the city, but rather part of a local, perhaps familial cult. Similarly, two homes in the area just south of the acropolis temples contained stelae, one known as the "stele of homage to the god El" and the other as the "stele of the oath" (Yon 2006: 114).

Early Iron Age monuments from the region are much more limited. Only a series of inscriptions with accompanying reliefs from the Aleppo temple date to the 11th century BCE; several fragmentary reliefs and portal figures from 'ayn Dara are dated similarly by direct comparison, but extensive damage makes further interpretation problematic. A set of orthostats include a relief of the Palastinean king, Taita I, and a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription, invoking the Halabean Storm God and prescribing the sacrifices that should be made in the temple by men of various standing from king to common man (ALEPPO 6; Hawkins 2011). The king is depicted in a tunic with a short skirt, belted at the waist, and wearing a simple, conical, horned headdress. His hair falls to his shoulders and his beard is represented only by a line from his temple to his chin, suggesting a very short length. His right hand is held before his face in a gesture of supplication, while his left hand rests against his abdomen (Fig. 7). Another inscription attributed to the same king runs across two adjoining portal figures, a lion and a sphinx, from the southern entrance to the cella (ALEPPO 7; Hawkins 2011). The fragmentary nature of the inscription makes interpretation extremely difficult, but there are possible mentions of the Halabean Storm God and Kubaba, seemingly in relation to a visit to Karkemiš for the latter.

From the 10th century BCE, the corpus of monuments continues to come from the kingdom of Palastina. Two funerary stelae found in secondary context a short way north of Hama are attributed to the reign of Taita II (Fig. 8). One stele depicts a goddess, probably the "Divine Queen of the Land" invoked in the text, standing upon a resting lion and holding objects in both upraised hands; before her is a smaller figure, probably the king himself. The monument appears to have served as the king's funerary monument (MEHARDE; Hawkins 2000: 415-419). The second of these stelae is without decoration, but bears an inscription attributing the monument to Kupapiya, women (probably wife) of Taita. It similarly invokes the "Divine Queen of the Land," suggesting that this goddess was chief among chthonic deities in the region, perhaps a local Kubaba of sorts (SHEIZAR; Hawkins 2000: 416-419; Payne 2012: 47; Younger 2020: 5-6).

Two stelae from a subsequent king of Palastina, Suppiluliuma I, depict the Storm God guiding a smaller royal figure by the hand (Fig. 9). The god wears a tunic with short, fringed skirt and a bulbous horned headdress. His beard is chest-length and curly and his hair ends in a long curl before his shoulder. His left hand holds a lightning trident before him, while his right hand holds the wrist of the king behind him. The king behind him is depicted differently in the two stelae, but in both he carries a bunch of grapes and a stalk of grain in his hands. Above the figures is a winged sun-disk, topped in one stele by a large rosette. They stand upon a bull in one stele and a vegetal motif in the other (ARSUZ 1 and 2; Dinçol et al. 2015; Dillo 2016). The accompanying inscriptions invoke the Storm God, qualified as either Mighty or Celestial at various moments, as well as the Grain- and Wine-gods, represented in the images by the divine

symbols held in the hands of the king, probably bestowed upon the king by the Storm God guiding him.

From the capital of Palastina itself, the mound of Tell Tayinat, comes a monumental statue of a male figure and an ornate, inscribed throne (Fig. 10; TELL TAYINAT 1; Gelb 1939: 39-40; Hawkins 2000: 365-367; Osborne 2017b). The inscription is quite fragmentary with no context preserved, however, the name Halparuntiyas appears in one fragment, likely the name of a Palastinean king, and possibly the same figure represented in the statue. The association of the figure with the monumental throne suggests that it is likely a deity or a deceased and divinized royal person.

The last monuments dated to the 10th century BCE come from the Aleppo temple in a series of reliefs, products of a renovation at the end of the century before the temple's abandonment. These include several mythological and divine figures, but most prominent among them are two deities depicted on a long orthostat in the center of the pedestal wall to the north (ALEPPO 4; Hawkins 2011). The figure in the rear wears a tunic with a short skirt and a simple, conical, horned headdress. He carries a spear in his left hand before him and holds a bow on his right shoulder. A short Anatolian Hieroglyphic epigraph identifies him as the tutelary god, Runtiya. The second figure is similarly dressed but carrying a mace resting on his right shoulder and holding the reins of a bull-drawn eagle chariot with one leg raised as if in the process of mounting it (Fig. 57). The epigraph before this deity reads "Divine Mace," either identifying the weapon itself, a god of the mace, or perhaps the divine implement of the Storm God (who is depicted here).

The 9th and 8th century BCE bring several more monuments connected to a greater variety of deities. Loosely dated within this range are three fragmentary monuments: the AFRIN stele, TELL TAYINAT fragments, and the JISR EL HADID fragments. The first is a four-sided stele possibly depicting the Storm God on one side and inscribed on the others with Hieroglyphic Luwian; the inscription mentions Tarhunza, but context is lacking (AFRIN; Hawkins 2000: 386-387). The JISR EL HADID fragments come from an unknown monument; the fragments bear a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on one side each and the god Tutaya is mentioned in what appears to be a list of deities now mostly missing from one fragment (JISR EL HADID 1; Hawkins 2000: 378-380). Fragments from a of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription found at Tell Tayinat may belong to existing monuments, but many do not yet join directly; among these are partial references to Tarhunza and the Sun-god without context (TELL TAYINAT fragments; Gelb 1939: 39-40; Hawkins 2000: 375-378).

Dated roughly between the 9th and 8th century BCE the Karabur reliefs, carved onto conical granite outcrops and comprising an open-air sanctuary in the Hatay region, just 25 km south of Antakya (Taşyürek 1975: 172-180). While the area of outcrops extends over ca. 100 m, only four bear relief carvings and these have no apparent organization with some distance between them. However, what binds these reliefs into a cohesive complex is the divine nature of the figures depicted (Fig. 58). One relief depicts a deity with a squared beard and long hair, dressed in a long, fringed robe and a tall, cylindrical cap with three sets of horns, and holding what might be a flower in his lowered left hand. His right hand is raised with an open palm, and above it are traces of a star-shaped divine symbol (KARABUR 1).

The second relief depicts two figures facing each other with six divine symbols between them, surmounting the scene. The larger of the two figures is identified as a god by his attire, which is much the same as that in the previous relief. Likewise, this god has similar hair and beard and holds his hands in the same posture – here the lotus flower in his left hand is more certain – but with the addition of a sword belted to his left hip. Before him is a smaller figure positioned on a raised step so that he is just below eye-level with the deity. This secondary figure is either bare headed, perhaps with a headband securing the long hair falling to his shoulders or wearing a rounded cap with hair emerging from underneath. More importantly, the figure is beardless, leading to interpretations that he should not be viewed as a king, but as an Assyrian official, perhaps the governor and *turtanu* Šamši-ilu (Taşyürek 1975: 180). Be that as it may, the figure wears a typical long, fringed robe and holds his right hand up in what appears to be the *ubana tarasu* gesture, while his left hand rests across his midsection. The symbols at the top of the relief include: the horned helm of Aššur; the crescent moon of Sin, the winged sun disk of Šamaš; the eight-pointed star of Ištar; the spade of Marduk; and the stylus of Nabu – all of which are indicative of a Mesopotamian cultic presence in the region (KARABUR 2).

The third relief represents another divine figure in the same attire and posture as the previous two, albeit holding a long staff in his lower left hand (KARABUR 3). The final relief in the group is heavily eroded but appears to illustrate a deity with similar attributes (KARABUR 4).

Several stelae dating from the mid-9th century BCE were also found not far from Aleppo, attesting to the persisting significance of the area, if not to the abandoned temple itself. The MELQART STELE from Bureij, near Aleppo, is dated to the second half of the 9th or early 8th

century BCE. It depicts the striding figure of the god Melqart with an axe or cudgel resting upon his left shoulder and holding an unidentified object in his relaxed right hand (Fig. 59). The Aramaic inscription on the lower portion of the stele describes the erection of the monument by Bar-Hadad, king of Aram, for his lord, Melqart. Notably, the text refers to the king making a vow to the god, and explicitly states that the god heard his voice (MELQART STELE; *KAI* 201; *CoS* 2.33).

A set of four stelae dated to the mid-8th century BCE were discovered near the village of Al-Safirah. None bears any images, but all recount a treaty between two local kings in an Aramaic inscription. A long list of deities is invoked as witnesses to the treaty, led by traditionally Mesopotamian deities, followed by local Syro-Levantine deities and forces of nature (SEFIRE STELAE; *KAI* 222-224; *CoS* 2.82).[131]

The lower half of another stele was found at the site of Tell Afis, dated to the early 8th century BCE (Fig. 14). The Aramaic inscription on the monument was composed by Zakkur, king of Hamath and Lu'aš, who set up the stele for the god El-Wer and credits Ba'al Šamem for the legitimacy of his rule in the city of Hazrach (Tell Afis). He also includes Šamaš and Šahar, the gods of heaven and the gods of earth, and several other deities – now lost – in the curse formula at the end of the inscription. The fragmentary image depicts the feet of a robed figure standing on an ornate bench or platform, probably a representation of the king or one of the two

[131] "[Aššur] and Mullesh…Marduk and Zarpani…Nabu and T[ašmet…Ir and Nus]k…Nergal and Las…Šamaš and Nur…S[in and Nikkal]…Nikkar and Kadi'ah…Rahbah and Adam(?)…[Hadad of A]leppo…Sibitti…El and 'Elyan…Hea[van and Earth…(the) A]byss and (the) Springs…Day and Night – all the god[s of KTK and the gods of Ar]pad (are) witnesses…"

primary deities in the inscription, El-Wer or Ba'al Šamem (ZAKKUR STELE; *KAI* 202; *CoS* 2.35).

Several other monuments found in the northern Levant from this period come from the Amuq Plain, or thereabouts. A fragmentary statue base from Tell Tayinat, dated paleographically to the first half of the 8th century BCE (but a 9th century date cannot be ruled out), includes references to several deities including Ea the King, the Grain- and Wine-gods, the Sun-god, Tarhunza, Runtiya, and Tamukina, perhaps the local form of the Mesopotamian goddess Damqina, the wife of Ea (TELL TAYINAT 2; Hawkins 2000: 367-375).

An 8th century BCE broken statue base from Jisr el Hadid describes offerings for Tarhunza, seemingly in the context of memorializing the commissioner's father (JISR EL HADID 4; Dinçol et al. 2014), and a building block dated to the 2nd half of the 8th century BCE from Tuleil refers to Kubaba and the Harranean Moon-god (TULEIL 2; Hawkins 2000: 382-383).

The lower half of a small statue of a robed figure, dated to the 2nd half of the 8th century BCE, was found near a village in Hatay (KIRÇOĞLU; Hawkins 2000: 383-384). The aesthetic of the figure is unique: the robe appears to hang loosely at the belted waist and over the exposed feet, and the back of the dress appears to be pleated. The author of the accompanying Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription is missing, however the statue itself is identified as "this Divine Queen of the Land." The text describes offerings made to the goddess and her reciprocal favor. Interestingly, this is the only reference to the Divine Queen of the Land where she does not appear to serve solely in a chthonic role.

5.3.1.2 Funerary Monuments

In addition to the monuments providing insight into the cults of certain deities within the local panthea of the northern Levant, a number of mostly uninscribed funerary monuments illustrating local mortuary cults centered around ancestor veneration also come from the region.[132]

Several statues were discovered around the foot of the mound of Taftanaz in Idlib Province, about 10 kilometers north of Tell Afis, all dated roughly to the 9th century BCE. A basalt statue of a standing male dressed in a shin-length robe and sandals and with a rounded beard and round bowl-shaped hair holds a drinking cup in his right hand before his chest and a short rod with curved top in his left hand, just below his right hand (Bonatz 2000: A 9). While the head is properly in-the-round, the body appears more like a large, rectangular and columnar stele in high relief (Bonatz 2000: 26), a characteristic particular to the Taftanaz monuments.

Another similar basalt statue of a standing male is missing its head and its beard has been chiseled away from its chest (Bonatz 2000: A 10). The figure holds a drinking cup in his right hand and a curved rod in his left hand, both held before his chest, this time at the same level with knuckles parallel. He wears a fringed robe with exposed chest and arms emerging from beneath. The robe ends at his shins above sandaled feet.

A highly eroded basalt statue of a seated male with round bowl-shaped hair and a long beard appears to be an alternative version of the standing Taftanaz statues; its form is mostly

[132] Funerary monuments that also provide information about the cults of certain deities include: SHEIZAR, MEHARDE, the statue accompanying TELL TAYINAT 1, JISR EL HADID 4, and KIRÇOĞLU.

squared with only its head and the cup held in its right hand properly in-the-round (Bonatz 2000: B 1). He wears a shin-length, fringed robe with lines on his shoulders and chest probably illustrating wrapping. His feet are bare or sandaled, unclear due to poor preservation. The fingers of his left hand are draped over the arm of his chair, while his right hand is turned palm up on the other arm of the chair, holding a drinking cup.

Finally, a broken basalt statue of two seated figures, probably male and female, appears in a similar form; the monuments appear to be mostly squared blocks of stone with high relief, with only the cups held by each figure and presumably their missing heads appearing properly in-the-round (Bonatz 2000: B 10). Fringed robes are wrapped over both figures' left arms and both figures are barefooted. Their left hands rest upon their left knees, and their right hands are holding drinking cups, upturned, and resting on their right knees (Fig. 60).

Two probably funerary monuments were also discovered at Tell Tayinat, dated roughly to the middle of the 9th century BCE. The upper half of a monumental statue of the ruler of Patina, Suppiluliuma II, may be a monument commemorating his life; the accompanying Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription upon his back recounting his deeds suggests so (Fig. 11; TELL TAYINAT 4; Denel and Harrison 2018: 369). The figure has bowl-shaped curly hair and a short curly beard. He appears to wear a tunic, along with pairs of wristbands and armbands, and a large necklace with a small tassel hanging behind his neck. In his left hand, he holds a stalk of grain, and in his right appears to be a short dagger or spear point. A strap descends diagonally from his right shoulder, ending at the break below his elbows, likely suggesting that he wore a sword draped around his left hip.

A heavily damaged statue of a female figure was found in the same area, probably dating from the same time (Fig. 12; LADY OF TAYINAT; Harrison et al. 2018). Interpretations vary between an image of a deceased queen or queen-mother of the kingdom of Palastina or Patina, or a representation of the Divine Queen of the Land, perhaps the primary chthonic deity of the region.[133] The figure appears to have curly hair emerging from beneath a shawl covering her head. Her right hand is raised above the right side of her chest towards her right shoulder, but it appears to be empty. Due to its fragmentary nature, no other details are clear.

Several stelae dating to the 8th century BCE come from settlements surrounding Aleppo. An eroded and damaged limestone stele found at Tell Rif'at to the north of Aleppo, possibly in association with an Aramaic grave, is dated to the first three quarters of the century (Bonatz 2000: C 14). It depicts a probably male figure seated on a bench in a long robe with hair falling in a single large curl or bunch upon the shoulders, possible coming from beneath a round cap or simply from rounded hair on top of the head. His right hand is raised before his chin, likely holding a drinking cup, while his left hand is resting upon his knee. Before the figure is a table piled with food and dishes (Fig. 61).

Three other limestone stelae dated to the second half of the 8th century probably come from Tell Rif'at, however their provenance is not secure. One depicting a table piled with dishes between seated and standing figures is too eroded and damaged to make out further details (Bonatz 2000: C 40).

[133] Current research by the TAP team, however, strongly suggests that the figure represented is a royal person, thus in line with the above interpretation (Stephen Batiuk, pers. comm. 2022).

Another stele, less eroded, depicts a similar scene of a table piled with dishes between a seated figure, probably male, with his feet resting on a stool and a smaller standing attendant, perhaps a child (Bonatz 2000: C 48). The seated figure holds a cup in one hand, while the other hand is unclear. The attendant holds what is likely a palm frond in one hand, and a tall vessel stands before him, perhaps for filling the other figure's cup.

A last broken and worn stele likely from Tell Rif'at, dated to the last quarter of the century, depicts a seated, probably male, figure in a long, fringed robe with his feet upon a small stool (Bonatz 2000: C 15). The figure's right hand holds a cup before his mouth, while his left hand rests on his knee. An ornate table piled with dishes stands before him.

Finally, a basalt stele discovered at Neirab to the east of Aleppo is dated to the end of the 8th or beginning of the 7th century BCE (Fig. 62; Bonatz 2000: C 35; KAI 226). It depicts a male figure seated on a bench with his feet on a stool before a table piled with dishes and a child attendant on the far side. The male is dressed in a long, fringed, and wrapping robe and wearing a rounded cap with what looks like a tassel or flap. His right hand is raised and holding a drinking cup before him, while his left hand rests on his knee. The child wears a belted, knee-length tunic, and holds a bundle of grain in his raised right hand, while his left hand appears open before him.

5.3.1.3 Discussion

The Late Bronze Age monumental evidence from the northern Levant parallels almost exactly the evidence provided by sacred structures, particularly because the orthostats and stelae with cultic content or from cultic contexts mostly come from within temples or surrounding

complexes. Interestingly, while relief orthostats make up the primary source of evidence for sites and temples most directly under Hittite control (i.e., Aleppo, ‘ayn Dara, and Alalakh), a significant number of stelae depicting or invoking a variety of deities provide a different outlook for practices of divine representation and worship at the site of Ugarit, perhaps attributed to contrasting cultic institutions between Levantine and Syro-Hittite urban centers.

The earliest Iron Age cultic monuments are similarly restricted to relief orthostats and portal guardians from the surviving Aleppo and ‘ayn Dara temples of the Storm God; monumental evidence from across the region attests to the perseverance of the cult of the Storm God as the primary cultic institution in northern Syria through at least the 9th century BCE. Different evidence, however, comes from the 10th century BCE in the form of two funerary stelae, unfortunately found out of primary context, illustrating an apparently new cult of the chthonic deity, the Divine Queen of the Land; this same deity might be the figure represented by the Lady of Tayinat statue dated to the following century, and is invoked in several later inscriptions from the region. Other innovations from the 10th century BCE appear to include what might be termed a ‘proto-Storm God of the Vineyard’ in reliefs on the Arsuz stelae, as well as what might be the beginnings of a royal ancestor cult at Tell Tayinat with the monumental statue of a seated figure, perhaps the Halparuntiya mentioned in the accompanying inscription or even Taita as the founder of the dynasty. The 9th century BCE statue of Suppiluliuma II may very well be a continuation of this ancestor cult, however, the loss of the lower half of the statue makes any definitive interpretation of its purpose impossible for the time being. Evidence coming from the 8th century BCE across the region, much of it fragmentary, attests to an

importation of Mesopotamian cults and their coexistence alongside existing Anatolian and Syro-Levantine cultic institutions.

While the late 10th century BCE reliefs from the Aleppo temple suggest a continuity of Anatolian deities led by the Storm God, stelae from the surrounding area dating between the mid-9th and mid-8th century BCE demonstrate a shift towards the public worship of Mesopotamian and Syro-Levantine deities, invoked by Aramaic-speaking kings. The 8th century BCE also appears to have hosted the advent or adoption of a funerary cult in the Aleppo region, especially manifest at Tell Rif'at, but also at Neirab. Further south, in the Idlib region, a mortuary cult was clearly in practice during the 9th century BCE at Taftanaz, where a standard model for representing the deceased was in use. At Tell Afis, in the same modern province of Syria, the early 8th century BCE stele of Zakkur attests to significant cults of the West Semitic deities El-Wer and Ba'al Šamem.

5.3.2 The Bend

5.3.2.1 Monuments Bearing Evidence for Cults to the Divine

No Late Bronze Age monuments have been found in the region north of the Amuq and east of the Amanus Mountains except for a single stele found southeast of Gaziantep (ÇAĞDIN; Bittel 1976: XX; Hawkins 1992). The relief depicts the Storm God with a horned headdress and short skirt, holding a spear in one hand and supporting a short inscription with the other. The inscription defines the figure as the "Storm God of the city of the Storm (God)." This monument is typically considered under the scope of Karkemiš, and thus outside of the primary region of interest for this project (Wilkinson, Peltenburg, and Wilkinson 2016).

During the Iron Age, however, a great number of monuments illustrative of cultic institutions and their respective communities were produced in this region, including a large quantity of funerary monuments illustrating cultic practices featuring ancestor veneration and a mortuary repast, centered largely around two urban centers: Zincirli Höyük and Kahramanmaraş. Most of these monuments are without secure archaeological context and are dated by content or art historical analysis. A fragment of a monument – probably a statue in-the-round – was found at Pancarlı Höyük, not far from Zincirli, and is dated by palaeography to the late 10th or early 9th century BCE (Fig. 15; PANCARLI; Herrmann, van den Hout, and Beyazlar 2016). The fragmentary text does not include a personal, political, or geographical name, but does mention the Storm God as the source of good fortune for the author.

A fragment of a larger-than-life, granite(?) statue of Halparuntiya, ruler of Gurgum, was discovered on the mound of Maraş, reused by modern occupants; it dates to the mid-9th century BCE (Fig. 18; MARAŞ 4; Hawkins 2000: 255-258; Bonatz 2000: A 2). The figure is preserved from hips to knees; he wears a long robe with a tassel hanging from his waist in the front and a sword hanging over his left hip from a diagonal strap. A Hieroglyphic Luwian text encircles the statue; in it, the ruler claims to have set up an "UPATITASIS Tarhunza," which likely refers to establishing a cult, a temple, or a statue. While the author also claims to have "exalted my image for myself," suggesting that the statue is of himself, the possibility cannot be excluded that the image *also* represents the Storm God. The form of the statue is typical of royal funerary monuments of the wider region, which variably depict royal and/or divine figures and suggest a widespread funerary cult and ancestor worship.

A variety of other monuments can be dated to the 9th century BCE from across the region. An inscribed portal lion dated late in the century and found reused in the Maraş citadel describes the divine support received by Halparuntiya III, king of Gurgum; in his inscription, he invoked Tarhunza, Ea, Runtiya of the Field, and a […]tis of the Law-Suit (Fig. 19; MARAŞ 1; Hawkins 2000: 261-265).

A stele depicting the tutelary god Runtiya standing upon a stag with a bow resting upon his right shoulder and a hare held in his left hand was found reused in a village south of Maraş (Fig. 63; HACIBEBEKLİ; Hawkins 2000: 277). The figure is dressed in a long fringed robed with a sword belted at the waist along the left hip; he wears a horned headdress and long beard and stands beneath a winged sun-disk. An inscription runs around the sides and back but is too eroded to read.

A ritual grinding stone without secure provenance was sent to Istanbul from İskenderun, perhaps coming from thereabouts (Fig. 64; İSKENDERUN; Hawkins 2000: 259-261). The object is inscribed with a text that recounts the dedication of a granary by Larama, probably the king of Gurgum and the second of his name. While the act appears mundane, this object suggests some sort of ceremony or ritual accompanied the foundation or filling of the granary, perhaps a regional tradition.

The palace orthostat of Kulamuwa, king of Yadiya/Sam'al, is dated to the third quarter of the 9th century BCE (Fig. 23). The relief depicts the ruler standing with his left finger pointed towards four divine symbols in the *ubana tarasu* gesture; the symbols include the horned cap of Hadad, the yoke of Rākib-El, the winged sun-disk of Šamaš, and the moon of the Moon-god, extending from his raised hand. He wears a long, fringed, and wrapping robe, sandals, a pointed

cap, and arm- and wristbands with rosettes on both limbs. He also holds a drooping lotus in his relaxed right hand. Its inscription commemorates the king's improvement of the polity and his relationship with Assyria, and invokes several deities in its curse formula, attributing each to an ancestor: Ba'al Ṣemed, (the god) of Gabbar, Ba'al Hammon, (the god) of Bam/nah, and Rākib-El, the lord of the house (i.e., dynasty) (KULAMUWA; *KAI* 24; *CoS* 2.30; Tropper 1993: 27-28). Rākib-El may, in fact, be Kulamuwa's chosen personal deity, as he again invokes him in a dedicatory inscription upon a gold sheath for his scepter or staff, which he claims to have given to the god in exchange for long life (KULAMUWA 2).

The gate complexes of Zincirli are also dated to the mid-9th century, however, several of the relief orthostats are believed to have been carved in the previous century and reused in the Sam'alian capital (Gilibert 2011: 61-67; Herrmann 2018); in any case, their placement within the liminal spaces of the 9th century settlement represents their final use context, and it is in that situation that they are considered here. The reliefs include a large variety of scenes ranging from mundane scenes of hunting and battle to images of gods and mythological creatures (Fig. 65). Most relevant to the current discussion are several relief panels that illustrate a procession of the gods, including those that appear to be the Storm God, Kubaba, and perhaps Rešef or Rākib-El (Orthmann 1971: Zincirli B/13, B/14, B15, B/22, and B/23), a number of mythological creatures (Orthmann 1971: Zincirli B/16, B/21, and B/22), and a tree of life flanked by rampant goats (Orthmann 1971: Zincirli B/17).

Two stelae dated to the 9th century BCE were discovered in secondary context in an Islamic cemetery near Islahiye (Fig. 66). The first depicts a deity interpreted as a Storm God; he wears a tunic belted at the waist with a short skirt and a tall, conical, horned headdress. His beard

is chest-length and his hair hangs low in a long curl. A sword is hung upon his left hip, and he holds an axe high in his right upraised hand and what looks like a stalk of grain in his left hand before his face (Orthmann 1971: Islahiye 1). The second depicts a figure seated on a stool; the figure holds some sort of long wavy object, perhaps a snake or vine, i.e., a divine object that would identify the figure as a deity (Orthmann 1971: Islahiye 2).

A basalt stele dated between the mid-9th and mid-8th century BCE was discovered on a hill near Ördekburnu, almost 20 kilometers south of Zincirli (Fig. 67; ÖRDEKBURNU; Bonatz 2000: C 52; Lemaire and Sass 2013; Younger 2020: 2-7). It depicts a table piled with dishes between a standing male and a seated female, both in long, belted robes. The male holds a short staff in his right hand and a lotus in his raised left hand. The female rests her feet upon a stool and holds some sort of flowers in her raised right hand; her left hand is unclear due to erosion. Beneath the scene is a Sam'alian funerary inscription for the deceased female, and above it are three divine symbols: the yoke of Rākib-El, and two partially preserved disk-shaped symbols that have been the subjects of several interpretations.

Three stelae dated broadly to the 9th or 8th century BCE also come from the region around Maraş. A broken basalt stele found standing in front of a modern home depicts what is likely the Storm God, however this identity cannot be confirmed since the head and raised hands are missing (MARAŞ 5; Hawkins 2000: 269-270). The text describes offerings to be made in the form of animal sacrifices.

Another basalt stele was found in Maraş depicting the Storm God with double axe and lightning trident standing beneath a winged sun-disk (Fig. 68; MARAŞ 11; Hawkins 2000: 270-271). He wears a short skirt, horned helm, and long beard. The text refers several times to

Tarhunza, including prescribing offerings to him, as well as to the Moon-god and a certain Halpawasus, probably the author of the inscription.

Another fragment of a stele, or perhaps a from another monument, bears no image, but the inscription references Kubaba and Karhuha (MARAŞ 10; Hawkins 2000: 280).

Only one monument dated to the 8th century BCE and containing information about the cultic landscape comes from Maraş itself. A small statue of a robed figure broken at the shoulders bears an inscription that describes Tarhunza hearing the prayer(?) of the author, who then made him as a statue, provided offerings, and prescribed future offerings for the god (MARAŞ 3; Hawkins 2000: 267-269).

Two other stelae found near small villages within the same province depict the Storm God with a horned helm, long beard and hair, and short skirt standing beneath a winged sun-disk (Fig. 69). They both wear a sword belted to their left hips and hold a double axe above their heads in their right hands. Both stelae are broken and missing different portions, but they likely fit the same model. One preserves a lightning trident held high in the left hand (KÜRTÜL; Hawkins 2000: 271), while the other preserves the deity standing atop a bull (KARAÇAY; Bunnens 2006: No. 2).

The relief orthostats of Sakçagözü are all dated to the first half of the 8th century BCE and include a wide range of subjects (Fig. 70). Several depict mythological scenes and figures, including deities flanking a tree of life and supporting a winged sun-disk above them and a variety of hybrid creatures (Orthmann 1971: Sakçagözü A/1 and A/9; also, A/2, A/4, A/8, A/10, and A/12). Others illustrate what appears to be a procession of officials – perhaps priests – or

ritual attendants around the corner of the gateway (Orthmann 1971: Sakçagözü A/5, A/6, and A/7). Even within a relatively standard politico-military hunt scene, a winged sun-disk sits above what is presumably the royal figure, and several rosettes above and between figures in the scene may be divine symbols; one hunter also holds a double axe overhead, in much the same way as the smiting Storm God (Orthmann 1971: Sakçagözü B/1 and B/2).

Two monumental, inscribed statues in-the-round were discovered on or near Gerçin Höyük, presumed to be the royal necropolis or sacred center of the kingdom of Sam'al, and are dated to the mid- to late 8th century BCE. A statue of Hadad, defined as such in its text, was used as the funerary monument of Panamuwa I, to be stood at his resting place (Fig. 26; HADAD INSCRIPTION; KAI 214; *CoS* 2.36; Tropper 1993: 54-97; von Luschan 1893: 44-52). The figure stands in a long dress with a horned headdress and short beard; its arms are bent forward, but the hands are broken off – they most likely held divine implements of some sort. The inscription describes the good will and support of several deities, including Hadad, El, Rašap, Rākib-El, Šamaš, and 'Arqu-Rašap. These deities are also invoked as legitimation of Panamuwa's right to rule. Hadad is specifically isolated as the one with whom the spirit of Panamuwa should share his mortuary repast. It should also be noted that Panamuwa I claimed to have built a temple for the gods of the city.

Later in the same century, Bar-Rākib constructed a similar statue as a funerary monument for his father, Panamuwa II (Fig. 27; PANAMUWA INSCRIPTION; Bonatz 2000: A 8; *KAI* 215; *CoS* 2.37; Tropper 1993: 98-139). The lower half of this basalt statue depicting a standing male figure wearing a long, fringed, and belted robe was found at Tahtalı Pınar near Gerçin Höyük, and probably comes from the site – its inscription states that it was set up before the

tomb of Panamuwa II, quite possibly alongside the tomb(s) of his ancestors. Deities invoked in the inscription include Hadad, El, Rākib-El, defined as the lord of the house, Šamaš, and "all the gods of Yadiya."

Several inscribed relief orthostats and fragments from the reign of Bar-Rākib, king of Sam'al, are dated to the late 8th century BCE, all discovered around the palatial structures of Zincirli Höyük (Fig. 28). One depicts the king holding both hands forward, the left grasping a flower and the right in an empty fist, with five divine symbols above his hands: the horned crown of Hadad, the yoke of Rākib-El, the five-pointed star in a double circle of Rašap(?), the winged sun of Šamaš, and the moon of the Moon-god (KAI 216; *CoS* 2.38; Orthmann 1971: Zincirli K/1). The inscription invokes Rākib-El as the king's lord, paralleling a similar invocation of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III, also described as the king's lord.

Another orthostat depicts the king holding a flower in his left hand and a drinking cup in his right, yet again with divine symbols at the top of the register: the horned crown of Hadad, the double-faced head with horned crown of El, the yoke of Rākib-El, the winged sun of Šamaš, and part of another yoke (KAI 217; Orthmann 1971: Zincirli K/11); Tropper also describes an additional variant of a yoke and perhaps a moon. The text mentions "the gods of my father's house."

A third orthostat depicts the king seated before a standing scribe, who holds a writing board and stylus; it also includes the symbol of the Moon-god and the text claims that the king's "master is Ba'al-Harran" (KAI 218; Orthmann 1971: Zincirli F/1a). Among the other orthostat fragments attributed to Bar-Rākib is another claim the Rākib-El and Tiglath-pileser are his lords.

Bar-Rākib's Aramaic signet ring also includes the divine symbols of Šamaš – the winged sun, and Rākib-El – the yoke, in the register above his name (ZİNCİRLİ signet 2; Tropper 132-139).

A large basalt block, perhaps from a series of orthostats, depicting the Storm God in a typical smiting posture was discovered near the village of Gözlühöyük; it is dated to the 8th century BCE (Fig. 71; GÖZLÜHÖYÜK 1; Bunnens 2006: No. 11). The Storm God stands in a framed scene and wears a tunic with a short, fringed skirt tied at the waste. He holds a lightning trident before him in his left hand and an axe in his rasied right hand. He has a chest length beard and shoulder length hair. His horned headdress is bulbous with small curls at the top, a long curled tassle hanging from the top, and a uraeus projecting from the front in Egyptian style, peculiar for divine representations in the region.

Lastly, an 8th century funerary stele was found in an urban shrine attached to domestic architecture within the lower town of Zincirli Höyük (Fig. 72). It depicts a Sam'alian elite seated before a mortuary repast, holding a drinking cup before him in his right hand and what appears to be a long-stemmed pinecone in his left hand (KTMW STELE; Pardee 2009; Herrmann and Schloen 2014). The accompanying inscription describes sacrifices that should be made to several deities, including Hadad Qarpatalli, NGD/R ṢWD/RN, Šamaš, Hadad of the Vineyards, Kubaba, and "my 'soul' that (will be) in this stele."

5.3.2.2 Funerary Monuments

In addition to the monuments providing information about the cults of certain deities within the local panthea of the Bend, a vast number of mostly uninscribed funerary monuments illustrating local cults featuring a mortuary repast and ancestor veneration also come from the

region.[134] Especially in this micro-region, these monuments reflect a widespread institution of memorialization and veneration practiced broadly throughout local elite communities. The funerary cults for which these monuments were created may have been practiced privately, but the transmission and institutionalization of the tradition must have occurred publicly between and within the communities of the Core Region.

A weathered stele depicting a single male figure with a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription running across the entire surface except the head and hands of the figure was discovered west of Maraş in a modern cemetery and is dated to the 10th century BCE (Fig. 16; MARAŞ 8; Hawkins 2000: 252-255; Bonatz 2000: C 1). The figure is dressed in a long, fringed, and belted robe and a round cap; a single curl of hair extends to his shoulder and a long, squared, and curly beard extends to his chest. He holds a short staff in his right hand before him and his left hand rests against his chest. The text identifies the figure as Larama (I), ruler of Gurgum, and commemorates his improvements of his territory.

Another stele dated to the 10th to early 9th century BCE was discovered at Maraş and depicts two female figures seated on either side of a table piled with dishes with their feet resting upon stools; it bears a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription (Fig. 73; MARAŞ 2; Hawkins 2000: 273-274; Bonatz 2000: C 33). Both women are dressed in long, fringed, and wrapping robes with shawls draped over their shoulders and topped with a squared headdress. One woman wears a wide wrapping waistband, while the other has some sort of circular abdominal decoration, likely folds in her clothing. The left figure holds a cup in her raised left hand and what appears to be a

[134] Funerary monuments that also provide information about the cults of certain deities include: MARAŞ 4, KULAMUWA, ÖRDEKBURNU, possibly ISLAHIYE 2, HADAD, PANAMUWA, KTMW, and possibly the orthostats of Bar-Rākib.

pomegranate in her right hand emerging from under her shawl; the right figure holds a mirror in her raised right hand and what appears to be a pomegranate in her left hand emerging from under her shawl.

Dated to the end of the 10th or beginning of the 9th century BCE is also the head of a roughly life-sized basalt statue of a male figure; it wears a rounded cap and a short curly beard (Bonatz 2000: A 15).

Several stelae discovered in the city of Maraş are dated between the mid-10th and early 9th century BCE, each depicting two figures with a table piled with dishes between them. One damaged and eroded basalt stele with remains of a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription depicts two seated figures, one male on the left and one female on the right, with their feet resting upon stools (Fig. 74; MARAŞ 12; Hawkins 2000: 275; Bonatz 2000: C 27). The table between them is topped with a duck in addition to dishes. The male wears a long, fringed, and belted robe with a long tassel hanging from the belt and a round cap upon his head. A single curl of hair extends from the cap and a squared, curly beard reaches his chest. He holds a short staff in his right hand and what is likely a cup in his raised left hand. The female figure wears a wrapping, fringed robe with a wide waistband and a shawl draped over her shoulders. What appears to be a cup is held in her raised right hand and perhaps a mirror in her left hand. Most of her head is missing in a break. A single equid walks beneath the figures.

An eroded basalt stele found reused as a step depicts a standing male and a seated female (Bonatz 2000: C 54). The male wears a long robe and probably a rounded cap, and he holds a bow on his right shoulder and a bird raised in his left hand. The female wears a squared headdress and a long robe, and she holds a mirror in her raised right hand (Fig. 75).

Another basalt stele with a hole in the lower portion and found reused as a steppingstone depicts a standing male and another figure almost entirely worn from the surface (Bonatz 2000: C 55). The preserved figure wears a long, fringed robe and a round cap. A single curl of hair emerges from under the cap and no beard is evident. In his left hand, he holds a bow before him, while his right hand holds an arrow low and behind his hip; a quiver appears over his right shoulder.

A third basalt stele fragment shows a seated female with squared headdress and long robe (Bonatz 2000: C 64). She holds a mirror in her lower right hand and a basket or perch in her raised right hand; this second object supports a bird of prey, which faces the woman.

A basalt statue of a standing male upon a base composed of two lions was discovered along the southwest wall of Building J at Zincirli; it is dated to the late 10th or early 9th century BCE (Fig. 22; Orthmann 1971: Zincirli E/1; Bonatz 2000: A 6). The figure wears a long, fringed, and belted robe, armbands on each arm, and a headband. He has curly hair and a squared beard; his nose has been broken off. A sword is worn through the figure's belt from the front to the left leg, and a long tassel hangs from the belt. While the hands are missing, remnants of a staff extending from the position of the right hand are visible along the length of the statue. The base is composed of two roaring lions held by a crouching male figure in a tunic with a short skirt. Cup-marks were carved into the top of the base in front of the statue, indicative of ritual activity.

A damaged basalt stele discovered on the surface near the village of Karaburçlu about 5 km north of Zincirli is dated to the late 10th or early 9th century BCE (Fig. 76; KARABURÇLU; Hawkins 2000: 276; Bonatz 2000: C 32). It depicts two probably male figures seated on either side of a table piled with dishes. Both figures wear long, fringed, and belted robes, and each hold

a short staff in their forehand and a cup raised before them in their rear hand. The head of the right figure is mostly missing in the break. The stele also bears a tenon for insertion into a base, and a largely unclear Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on the sides and top of the monument.

Another basalt stele with a tenon, similarly dated, was discovered in Gaziantep; it is extremely eroded and missing the upper edge (Bonatz 2000: C 71). The monument depicts a standing male and a standing child but is otherwise illegible.

Two squared statues, slightly smaller than that of Halparuntiya of Gurgum (MARAŞ 4; Hawkins 2000: 255-258; Bonatz 2000: A 2) and close to life-size, were found in the region of Kahramanmaraş and dated to the 9th century BCE (Fig. 77).[135] One heavily eroded statue missing only its head was found in the village of Pazarçık (MARAŞ 13; Hawkins 2000: 276-277; Bonatz 2000: A 3). While its details are mostly lost, its arms are bent at the elbows with its hands resting against its body above the waist. Hawkins interprets traces of something held as a staff commonly held in statues of the region, however, it is also possible that the figure held some sort of divine symbols, thus representing a deity. The limited preserved text does not allow for any further interpretation.

A fragment of another squared statue was found reused in the foundation of a modern house near the Maraş citadel (MARAŞ 14; Hawkins 2000: 265-267). The figure is dressed much the same as that of the ruler Halparuntiya, but on a smaller scale. The inscribed text indicates that

[135] Another example comes from the area around the modern city of Gaziantep. The lower half of a roughly squared statue depicts a ruler in a long, fringed robe with a tassel hanging from the belt in the front, a sword hanging on his left hip, and remains of a staff, which was likely held in the figure's right hand. It is dated to the 9th century BCE based on similarities with the statues from Maraş.

the figure is an official named Astiwasus, who was granted some sort of precinct by an unknown lord and beseeches viewers to perform some sort of ritual to his statue.

An eroded basalt statue of a standing male figure with the head broken off and missing was discovered in the village of Hasancıklı near Maraş and is dated to the 9th century BCE (Fig. 78; Bonatz 2000: A 11). The figure wears a knee or shin-length robe or skirt, and his feet are either bare or in sandals. His hands are clasped before his chest and a rod extends from his left hand towards his left shoulder.

An uninscribed basalt stele also dated to the 9th century BCE and depicting a male and female seated on either side of a table piled with dishes was discovered near the village of Örtülü just a few kilometers southwest of Zincirli (Fig. 79; Bonatz 2000: C 26). The male wears a belted tunic and round cap, has a curly beard ending at his chest and a single curl of hair extending in the back, and holds a cup in his raise left hand and a curved rod or staff in his right hand. The female wears a tunic with wide waistband and collar and a round cap, has a long curl of hair hanging behind her, and holds a mirror in her raised right hand and what appears to be a spindle in her left hand.

A large number of funerary monuments from the region of Maraş are dated to the last three quarters of the 9th century BCE (Fig. 80). The upper half of an eroded basalt stele depicting what appears to be a warrior with helmet and weaponry was discovered in Pazarcık, near Maraş (Bonatz 2000: C 5).

A damaged basalt stele with tenon for insertion into a base and depicting a striding male figure holding a bow and what appear to be two arrows in his upheld left hand was discovered in

Maraş (Bonatz 2000: C 7). He wears a rounded cap and a tunic with a short skirt; he has a short beard, and a small curl of hair emerges from under his cap above his shoulder. The figure has a sword belted on his left hip and an object hangs from his right hand behind him, perhaps a small animal or vegetation.

The upper portion of a basalt stele depicts a male figure seated on some sort of bench, wearing a belted tunic or a long robe and a round cap (Bonatz 2000: C 13). Curly hair falls in a bunch behind his head and a squared curly beard ends at his chest. His right hand holds a staff before him, while his raised left hand holds a cup in front of his face. He sits before a table piled with dishes.

A basalt stele with worn edges and a wide base was discovered in the Maraş citadel (Bonatz 2000: C 21). It depicts seated male and female figures on either side of a table piled with dishes and what appears to be a basket below the table. The male figure is on the left beneath an umbrella extending from his chair. He wears a long, fringed, and belted robe, an armband on his right bicep, and sandals; he has curly hair with a long curl falling from a headband to his shoulders and a squared curly beard falling to his chest. He holds a short staff in his right hand, and from his raised left hand extends a stalk of grain and hangs a bunch of grapes. The female wears a long, fringed, and wrapping robe with a wrapping waistband, a bracelet on her right wrist, ankle wraps and sandals, and a shawl covering her head. She holds a drinking cup in her raised right hand and a small object, perhaps a plant or spindle, in her left hand.

A largely eroded basalt stele from Maraş depicts two probably seated figures, one male and one female, facing each other, probably over a table with dishes (Bonatz 2000: C 23). The male on the right holds a staff in his lower left hand and an unidentifiable object in his raised

right hand. The female holds a drinking cup before her in her raised left hand and an unidentifiable object in her lower left hand.

A basalt stele with a wide base discovered in a modern vineyard near Maraş depicts two front-facing figures, one male and one female, seated side by side with arms draped around each other's shoulders and feet resting on a bench or stools (Bonatz 2000: C 29). The male figure on the left wears a long, fringed, and belted robe and what looks like a fringed apron and sandals. He has curly hair held by a thin headband and a squared curly beard. In his right hand, he holds a bunch of grapes. The female figure wears a long, wrapping robe with a wide waistband that appears to be held in place by a fibula. She also wears a draping shawl with a decorated headdress, and ankle wraps above what appear to be bare feet. She holds a mirror decorated with vegetation in her left hand.

A basalt stele fragment from Maraş depicts a female figure seated to the right of a table presumably piled with dishes (Bonatz 2000: C 34). She wears a long robe, a fringed, wrapping shawl, and a wrapping waistband. In her raised right hand is a drinking cup and her left hand appears to be empty, extending from beneath her shawl.

A basalt stele fragment from Maraş depicts two figures, however the primary figure is largely missing due to a mostly vertical break losing the upper left portion of the monument (Bonatz 2000: C 44). The large figure is seated, wearing a long, fringed robe and sandals, and holds what Orthmann interprets as some sort of instrument (Orthmann 1971: Maraş B/15). A smaller male figure wearing a tunic with a short, fringed skirt, bracelets on both wrists, and a headband stands opposite the primary figure with a table piled with dishes between them. The secondary figure has curly hair on top of his head with straight or slightly wavy hair hanging

below his headband. His left hand holds what is probably a palm frond, but also resembles a limp stalk of grain, and he holds a drinking cup before him in his right hand. Below both figures is a similar small male figure leading a horse and holding a spear vertically before him.

A badly damaged basalt stele with tenon for insertion into a base discovered at Maraş depicts a table piled with dishes between a seated female with her feet on a stool and a standing male(?) attendant (Bonatz 2000: C 53). The female figure wears a long, fringed, and wrapping rope with a wide, wrapping waistband and a shawl covering her head. She holds a mirror in her raised left hand and her right hand appears to be empty, emerging from beneath her robe. The attendant holds a drinking cup in his raised right hand and in his left hand is a bow or curved rod held upon his left shoulder.

A basalt stele fragment from Maraş depicts a standing male figure facing a table piled with dishes (Bonatz 2000: C 56). He wears a patterned robe and either a patterned robe or showing curly hair – preservation makes the distinction challenging; single curl of hair extends behind him, and he wears a bracelet on his left wrist. In his raised left hand is a stalk of grain and a bunch of grapes; his right hand is unclear.

Another basalt stele fragment from Maraş with only feet preserved depicts a seated figure in a robe, a table, and a standing figure in a robe (Bonatz 2000: C 57).

A limestone stele from Maraş depicts a seated female and standing male with a table and a standing child between them (Bonatz 2000: C 62). All figures are dressed in long robes and sandals; the female wears a shawl; the male and child wear round caps; and the male has a single curl of hair and a squared curly beard. The male holds a drinking cup in his raised right hand and

an unclear object in his left hand. The female holds a spindle or poppy in her right hand coming from beneath her shawl, and she wraps her left arm around the shoulders of the child facing her. The child is depicted above or behind the table with empty hands.

A basalt stele from the vicinity of Maraş depicts a standing female and a standing female child, both in long robes and shawls (Bonatz 2000: C 68). The adult holds a spindle in her raised left hand and the child's hands are both apparently empty. Some sort of object hangs from the upper right corner of the scene, but it is not clear what it might be.

A number of funerary monuments lacking complete provenance data are also believed to have come from the Maraş region (Fig. 81). A basalt stele depicts a standing beardless male figure in a long, fringed, and belted robe and sandals with curly hair and a single curl resting above his shoulder, held in place by a headband (Bonatz 2000: C 9). He holds a stylus raised before him in his right hand and a tablet in his left hand before his chest.

A limestone or sandstone stele purchased on the art market depicts a small beardless male figure in a long, fringed, and belted robe with curly hair on his head and a long lock curling above his shoulders, tied at the back of his head (Bonatz 2000: C 10). He holds a set of band scales balanced between the thumb and fingers of his right upraised hand, and another set of collapsed scales, or perhaps a different set of weights, held in his right hand before his chest.

A weathered limestone stele depicting a seated male figure wearing a long, fringed, and belted robe, a bracelet on his left wrist, and sandals (Bonatz 2000: C 12). A curling lock of hair emerges from beneath a round cap, resting above his shoulders; no beard is evident. He holds a

short staff in his right hand, and from his left hand extends upward a stalk of grain and from below hangs a bunch of grapes. Before the figure is a table piled with dishes.

A basalt stele with worn edges depicts two seated figures, one male and one female, on either side of a table piled with dishes (Bonatz 2000: C 22). The male wears a long robe, sandals, and rounded cap, and has a squared curly beard extending to his chest and a long curl of hair falling to his shoulders. His left hand holds a staff before his chest and from his right hand extends a stalk of grain and hangs a bunch of grapes. The female figure wears a long, wrapping robe and a shawl that covers her head. In her raised left hand is a drinking cup, and she holds what appears to be a spindle in her right hand before her chest.

A fragmentary basalt stele missing a central piece depicts a table piled with dishes between a seated male and standing female figure (Bonatz 2000: C 50). The male wears a long, belted robe and a round cap; he has a squared curly beard and a long curl of hair at his shoulder; and he holds a stalk of grain in his raised left hand and his right hand appears empty. The female figure wears a long, fringed, and wrapping robe and a shawl covering her head. In her raised right hand, she holds a drinking cup; her left hand is missing in the break.

Another fragmentary basalt stele depicts a standing male and a standing child with a table and basket between them (Bonatz 2000: C 69). The male wears a long, fringed, and belted robe with a tassel in front and a sword hanging on his left hip with a tassel hanging from the scabbard. He holds a bow over his left shoulder and arrows in his raised right hand. The child wears a simple long robe, perhaps covering the head; a drinking cup is held in the raised left hand and an unclear object extends down from the right hand.

The lower portion of a basalt stele dating to the last three quarters of the 9th century BCE and depicting a standing male figure was discovered in the village of Söğütlü in the vicinity of Pazarcık near Maraş (Fig. 82; Orthmann 1971: Söğütlü 1; Bonatz 2000: C 8). The figure wears a long, fringed, and belted robe with a tassel hanging in front from the belt; a sword hangs against his left hip from a diagonal strap with a tassel hanging from the scabbard. He holds a bow over his left shoulder and what appear to be arrows extended from the break, likely held in his upheld right hand. The figure faces a table piled with dishes. A small animal stands in the background behind the figure, perhaps a dog, and another animal, likely an equid, wears a saddle and runs beneath the ground line under the figure's feet.

A basalt stele missing the lower portion was found in the village of Çapalı, south of Gaziantep; it is dated between the mid-9th and mid-8th century BCE (Orthmann 1971: Çapalı 1; Bonatz 2000: C 43). It depicts a seated figure holding a staff and cup, with a standing figure holding what is likely a palm frond. The image is extremely eroded, but there may also be a table with dishes.

A basalt stele discovered in room P 1 of Zincirli's Hilani II, dated to the late 9th to mid-8th century BCE, depicts a standing male and standing adolescent male, both wearing wrapping, fringed, and belted robes and sandals (Fig. 83; Orthmann 1971: Zincirli J/2; Bonatz 2000: C 72). The adult wears a rounded and tipped cap with what looks like a pair of strings hanging from the back, as well as pairs of armbands and bracelets. He has curly hair and a curly squared beard, and he holds a lotus in his lower left hand, while his right hand appears to gesture before his chin. The younger figure wears a headband securing his curly hair and has what looks like a

tassel hanging from his belt. He holds a lotus in his raised right hand and a small basket or pot in his lower right hand.

Dating from the mid-9th to mid-8th century BCE is a poorly preserved basalt stele depicting a figure holding what is probably a palm frond in one hand and a drinking cup in the other; other details are unclear, and provenance is unclear, but it is attributed to Maraş (Bonatz 2000: C 49).

Several stelae from Maraş are dated to the last quarter of the 9th or 8th century BCE (Fig. 84). A heavily eroded basalt stele with a wide base depicts a table piled with dishes between a seated male and seated female (Bonatz 2000: C 24). The male holds a cup in his right hand before his chest and a stalk of grain in his raised left hand. The female holds a cup in her raised right hand and an unclear object in her lower left hand.

A limestone stele with badly worn edges depicts a male figure seated before a table piled with dishes and a male attendant behind him (Bonatz 2000: C 42). The primary figure is dressed in a long, fringed, and belted robe with bracelets on both wrists, sandals, and a headband. He has curly hair with a curl emerging from the headband and a curly squared beard. From his left hand extends a stalk of grain and hangs a bunch of grapes, while he holds a drinking cup in his raised right hand. The attendant is small in the background, wearing a similar belted robe, but also a round cap. A single curl of hair emerges from beneath the cap and no beard is visible. In his right hand he holds some sort of vegetation that looks similar to the grain stalk, but bends over the primary figure, suggesting that it should be interpreted at a palm frond or the like. He holds a cylindrical object in his left hand, perhaps a vessel for filling the cup of the primary figure.

A central fragment of a basalt stele depicts seated male and female figures with a male child between them (Bonatz 2000: C 61). The male has a squared curly beard and holds a short staff in his right hand and a drinking cup in his raised left hand. The female is mostly missing, but her arm wraps around the child's shoulder. The child faces the female, wears a patterned tunic, and holds an unidentifiable object in his raised left hand.

Another basalt stele fragment depicts a seated female and a very small standing child holding a bird; a table appears above the child in the background (Bonatz 2000: C 63).

A rough-edged, but mostly complete basalt stele depicts a seated female in a long robe and shawl, holding a standing male child on her lap (MARAŞ 9; Hawkins 2000: 274-275; Bonatz 2000: C 65). The child wears a long, fringed robe with a decorated collar, along with sandals, bracelets, a necklace, an earring, and a decorated cap. Curly locks of hair emerge from beneath the cap. He holds a cord attached to a bird of prey in his left hand and a stylus in the right hand with a diptych floating before him. A short Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription tops the scene.

Similarly dated to the last quarter of the 9th or the 8th century BCE are several stelae without provenance, but believed to have come from Maraş, as well (Fig. 85). The upper portion of a limestone stele depicts a seated female figure wearing a long dress with wrapping waist band and possibly a pleated lower portion, as well as a draping shawl over her head (Bonatz 2000: C 19). She holds a mirror in her raised left hand and her right hand appears empty. A table piled with dishes stands before her.

A similar fragment, this one of basalt, depicts a seated female figure in nearly the same attire, but this one with more detail: the edge of her sleeve is patterned, as is the top over her dress, which also displays a short tassel hanging from it; she also wears a necklace and what might be an earring (Bonatz 2000: C 20). She likely holds an object in her raised left hand, but it is lost in the break.

A basalt stele that is badly damaged on all edges so that only the middle of the image is preserved depicts two figures, a male and female, facing each other over a table piled with dishes (Bonatz 2000: C 25). The male wears a long, belted robe and holds a cup in his lower right hand and a stalk of grain in his raised left hand. The female wears a long robe with a wrapping waistband and a draping, fringed shawl; she holds a cup in her raise right hand and another object in her lower left hand emerging from beneath the shawl, perhaps a spindle or some sort of plant.

Another basalt stele depicts a basket and table piled with dishes between a seated female and a standing young male (Bonatz 2000: C 51). The female wears a long, fringed, and wrapping robe with a wrapping waistband, a shawl covering her head, and ankle wraps. She holds a spindle in her left hand and her right hand pulls thread from it. The attendant has curly hair held by a headband with a curling lock extending below. He wears a long, fringed, and belted robe, and holds up a stylus in his left hand and a tablet or writing board in his right hand.

Yet another basalt stele depicts a seated male, a seated female, and a standing younger female, likely the daughter of the seated figures (Bonatz 2000: C 60). All figures wear long robes, and those of the females are pleated in the lower portion and topped by shawls. A basket and table piled with dishes stand between the male and the two females. The male has curly hair

and a squared beard, and he holds a cup in his right hand and some sort of vegetation in his raise left hand. The seated female holds a goblet in her left hand and wraps her right arm around the younger standing female's shoulder. The younger woman holds a spindle in her left hand and a mirror in her raised right hand. An object hangs between the male and standing female, but it is not clear what it is.

An upper fragment of a basalt stele depicts a female figure with her arm around the shoulders of a male child, who is either riding or leading a horse by the reins (Bonatz 2000: C 66). The female wears a long, pleated robe and a shawl covering her head with a lock of hair emerging from beneath it; she holds a cup in her left hand. The boy wears a headband over his wavy hair. The horse is equipped with a bridle and reins.

A unique monument dating to the first three quarters of the 8th century BCE was also found in Maraş (Fig. 86; Bonatz 2000: C 59). Made of basalt, it is a squared monument imitating architecture, including stepped crenelations on top, resembling a tower. The back and partially preserved sides depict a total of five women in procession, while the frontal scene depicts a woman seated on a bench or bed. This primary figure is dressed in a patterned robe with a wrapped waistband and pleated lower length, along with a shawl over her head and shoulders. Her ankles are wrapped, and she wears earrings in both ears. In her left hand, she holds a spindle. Flanking her are two female attendants in similar, yet simplified, attire; the left attendant holds what looks like a flag, while the right attendant holds a palm frond.

A basalt stele fragment from Sakçagözü and also dated to the first half of the 8th century BCE depicts a mortuary repast between a seated figure and a standing figure (Fig. 87; Orthmann 1971: Sakçagözü C/1; Bonatz 2000: C 37). Both figures have their hands extended over the

table, upon which are a small dish and a basket or bowl, but all other details are too worn for interpretation.

A basalt stele with a tenon discovered in Palace G of Zincirli and dated to the late 8th century BCE depicts a table piled with dishes between a seated figure with feet resting upon a stool and a standing attendant, both beneath a winged sun (Fig. 88; Orthmann 1971: Zincirli K/2; Bonatz 2000: C 46). The seated figure is probably male, but the attire leaves ambiguity; he is dressed in a long, fringed robe, pinned at the collar by a fibula and pleated below the waist, and he wears ankle wraps, sandals, two different bracelets, a necklace, and a round cap with a decorative band that hangs beyond the cap to the rear like a train. He is beardless with short curly hair coming from beneath the cap. In his right hand, he holds a cup before his face, and in his left is a drooping lotus with the stem resting on the arm of his chair. The attendant wears a long robe and is likewise beardless with curly hair. He holds up a palm frond in his right hand and what appears to be a curved dagger in his lowered left hand.

A similarly dated (ca. late 8th century) basalt stele missing its upper third was discovered not far from Zincirli (Bonatz 2000: C 47). It depicts a table piled with dishes between a seated figure and a standing attendant. The seated figure wears a long, fringed, and pleated robe, while the attendant wears a knee-length tunic. The relief is very worn, and further details are unclear.

A fragment of a basalt stele illustrating a mortuary repast was discovered near the village of Gözlühöyük and is dated to the 8th century BCE (Fig. 89; GÖZLÜHÖYÜK 2; Bonatz 2000: C 28). The scene depicts a male and female flanking a table piled high with dishes and a large central lotus flower. A child stands behind the male, holding some sort of flower. The female holds a bunch of poppies before her, while the male holds a lotus in his left hand and a cup in his

right before him. He wears a chest-length beard and a headdress fronted by a uraeus, extending the Egyptian influence already noted in the Storm God relief found in the same village.

A similarly dated basalt stele with a tenon for insertion into a base was found at nearby Gölüköhüyük Köyu-Islahiye (Fig. 90; Bonatz 2000: C 30). It depicts an adult male and a child seated on either side of a table piled with dishes and beneath a winged sun disk. The male on the left wears a long robe and curly hair in typical 8th century BCE Assyrian style. His feet rest on a stool and he holds a drinking cup before his face in his right hand and some sort of vegetation(?) in his left hand. The child, likely male, is less defined and more eroded; however, his feet hang above the ground from his seat, and he holds a drinking cup before his face in his right hand and similar vegetation in his left hand.

5.3.2.3 Discussion

Monumental evidence from the Bend is exceptionally plentiful, however, this is the case only from the Middle Iron Age. The Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages appear devoid of sculptural monuments, matching the apparent absence of large settlements or monumental architecture. The abrupt appearance of such a robust assemblage of monumental sculptures suggests a substantial innovation within the cultic landscape of the Bend. The form of the earliest monuments – i.e., columnar statues and stelae – is mostly novel within the wider region, with most Late Bronze Age sculptural monuments from the surrounding areas coming in the form of rock-reliefs. Similarly, the representation of royal (and indeed elite) figures in the context of divine worship or as the focus of ancestor cults illustrates an adaptation of Late Bronze Age Anatolian traditions characteristic of Hittite ruled areas. Namely, the depiction of standing mortal (and likely deceased) figures in long robes with hands held before them (e.g., in the stele of

Larama I of Gurgum) is reminiscent of the images of the Hittite King Tudhaliya IV at Yazılıkaya and the Prince and Great Priest Tudhaliya at Alalakh, though without the staff characteristic of elite and royal male figures from the Bend, and even more so with the Hittite King Muwatalli II at Sirkeli Höyük, who bears a staff, albeit a curled one (Fig. 91). Likewise, the representation of Muwizi of Gurgum appears to borrow from similar Hittite Anatolian traditions, adapting the trope of the *Bowenträger* by placing the bow drawn in the figure's hands instead of resting on his shoulder, and dressing the figure in a long robe rather than a short skirt, as seen in the rock reliefs at Hemite and Hanyeri, for instance (Fig. 44a and b).

During the Middle Iron Age and across the region as a whole, life-size or larger statues in-the-round, stelae, and orthostats depicting deceased rulers and invoking a variety of deities are common from as early as the later 10th century BCE. Standing statues appear to be the focus of royal ancestor cults in Maraş and Zincirli, later also connected directly with the cult of the Storm God in the kingdom of Sam'al. These statues appear to be in a relatively standard form, even similar to depictions in certain early stelae, suggesting a regional institution of ancestor worship. Funerary stelae depicting a mortuary repast and deceased elite men, women, and children served as the material focus of funerary cult practices across the region from the 10th to 8th century BCE with great consistency in iconography. While royal monuments appear to diverge stylistically and culturally during the 9th century BCE, non-royal elites appear to have preserved the preexisting institutions surrounding mortuary practices without regard to the changing political landscape. The elite, non-royal funerary cult characteristic of the Bend appears to extend across political boundaries and encompass the entire region, yet it hardly crosses over the Amanus into

Cilicia or into the northern Levant.[136] While the motif of a mortuary repast has been interpreted as a feature of "Syro-Hittite city-states" and their funerary cults and monuments (Bonatz 2000; Bonatz 2016), the micro-regional analysis conducted here indicates that it was primarily used by the elite cultic communities of the Bend,[137] and indeed not associated with polities at all; instead, a social group that extended throughout the micro-region, despite living among different political communities, employed the motif and seemingly enacted similar mortuary rituals. In contrast, royal funerary cults appear to be distinct between Yadiya/Sam'al and Gurgum, with deceased royal figures represented with different iconography in each polity.

Likewise, cults to particular deities can be distinguished between the polities of the Bend, suggesting a stronger connection with the political institutions of the kingdoms that is not present in the non-royal, elite funerary cultic institutions. While the monuments from the kingdom of Gurgum consistently invoke traditionally Anatolian deities, foremost among them the Storm God Tarhunza, the monuments of Sam'al, beginning with king Kulamuwa shortly after the middle of the 9th century BCE, invoke almost exclusively Syro-Levantine deities, particularly Ba'al or Hadad with various appellations. Notably, Kulamuwa assigns specific deities to each of his ancestors and proclaims Rākib-El as the god of his dynasty, a tradition continued all the way through the reign of the last king of Sam'al, Bar-Rākib. Monuments from the 8th century BCE across the region attest to a culturally diverse cultic landscape with Syro-Levantine,

[136] The statues from Taftanaz depicting figures holding drinking cups may signal similar cult practices involving libation or feasting in a mortuary context, but the imagery is quite distinct from the relief illustration of a mortuary repast seen throughout the Bend, implying local distinctions within the funerary cults of each region.
[137] The appearance of the mortuary repast motif outside of the region, for instance, upon the relief orthostats of Karatepe, on the stele from Neirab near Aleppo, or on a relief fragment from Malatya (Orthmann 1971: Malatya B/3; MARAŞ; Hawkins 2000: 273-274), indicates a more widespread understanding of the motif, and perhaps extensions of the cult throughout the wider region, but these isolated attestations stand in stark contrast to the concentration of monuments illustrating the mortuary repast found in the Bend.

Mesopotamian, and Anatolian deities invoked separately in nearby sites or even together in single inscriptions; divine representations illustrate cultural amalgams with blends of Anatolian, Syro-Levantine, Assyrian, and even Egyptian influence is particular cases. The evidence at hand suggests that this geographic nexus was a melting pot for cultic practices, producing unique cultic institutions within each kingdom in the region, but also specific local institutions, different even from the overarching regional practices, produced through processes of glocalization. The overlap between distinct royal and non-royal funerary cultic communities and communities of worship associated with certain divine cults provides evidence for intersectional identities even within just the cultic landscape of the Bend. Practitioners of the micro-regional elite funerary cult would have produced different cultic identities in each polity through the intersection of their shared ancestor worship with their worship of local deities associated with the distinct panthea of Gurgum and Yadiya/Sam'al. These intersectional identities would have, thus, produced unique local communities within the larger elite community that shared certain cult practices across the region, likely further distinguished by association and interaction with the communities and political bodies around them.

5.3.3 Cilicia

5.3.3.1 Monuments Bearing Evidence for Cults to the Divine

Monumental representations from Late Bronze Age Cilicia are restricted to three royal rock-cut reliefs with short inscriptions, essentially captions with limited genealogical information. Reliefs of the Hittite kings Muwatalli II and possibly Mursilli III were carved upon a rock face at the edge of settlement mound along the Ceyhan River (Fig. 30; Eringhaus 1995; Kozal and Novák 2017; Marazzi, Guzzo, and Repola 2019). A relief of a prince X-Tarhunta was

carved upon a rock outcrop further north along the Ceyhan River near the village of Hemite, likely at another ancient crossing point (Fig. 31; Archi 1971). These monuments depict a single royal figure in profile with varying attire and held objects. Each of them fits within the typical Hittite, i.e., non-local, artistic tradition, and lacking any divine attributes, provides no information regarding the Late Bronze Age cultic landscape; however, their visibility during the following centuries may have impacted later practices of representation, and the interpretation that such monuments could have served as the focus for Hittite royal funerary institutions associated with the ^{NA4}*ḫekur* (Balza and Mora 2011).

The earliest Iron Age cultic monuments of Cilicia are likely those of Domuztepe, probably dating to the 9th century BCE (Fig. 92). These include: a statue base composed of two bulls with an illegible 2-line Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription (DOMUZTEPE 1; Hawkins 2000: 71), which probably supported a divine figure; a stele depicting the Storm God holding a double-axe behind him in his right hand and the Anatolian Hieroglyph EGO before him in his left (DOMUZTEPE 2; Hawkins 2000: 71); a stele of Kubaba beneath a winged sun disc holding a mirror in her left hand; three portal lions; and three relief orthostat fragments. Of these fragments, one illustrates a tree of life between two figures and beneath a winged sun, one depicts a warrior with spear, mace, and quiver, apparently followed by another similar figure, and one shows a god standing upon the back of a sphinx with the head of a man and body of a lion. All but the portal lions and warrior figure appear to be cultic in nature (Alkım 1952: 242-247; Winter 1979: 125-132; Çambel and Özyar 2003: 149-156). While neither dating nor archaeological context are secure for any of these monuments, they are indicative of existing traditions for the display of divine figures in the region.

Several other monuments were erected during the 8th century BCE in a variety of forms. A stele found near Adana and dated to the early 8th century BCE, depicts the Storm God holding a grapevine and a stalk of grain, suggesting that it is an early representation of the Storm God of the Vineyard in the region (Fig. 33; ADANA 1; Hawkins, Tosun, and Akdoğan 2013). The accompanying text describes the figure as "this MAS(A)HUNALI Tarhunza," perhaps another name for the same deity. The inscription was commissioned by a subordinate of the Country-Lord of Karkemiš, but the exact position of this person in Cilicia is unclear, as is the purpose of the monument.

Later in the same century, two non-figural stelae were erected in the Cilician frontiers. The trilingual Luwian-Akkadian-Phoenician inscription of İNCİRLİ was setup beyond the traditional limits of Cilicia in the region of Kahramanmaraş, apparently commemorating territorial gains of the kingdom of Hiyawa as a product of their relationship with Assyria (Fig. 34). Only the Phoenician text has been translated, and while the content is largely historical in nature, several Mesopotamian deities are invoked as divine support and in the curse formula (Kaufman 2007; Dodd 2012; Na'aman 2019).

The Phoenician inscription of HASAN-BEYLİ was set up somewhere near the western slopes of the Amanus Mountains, where it was later reused as a boundary marker (Fig. 35). The text similarly commemorates Hiyawa's relationship with Assyria and includes a fragmentary invocation to "Ba'al-Shamem and the gods" (Lemaire 1983). While neither text is complete, and thus may have included references to other deities, the fact that the extant divine names appear to represent pantheons from different cultural milieux suggests different audiences and a diverse cultic landscape.

Contemporary with the Hiyawan stelae is a statue of the Storm God and its bull-drawn chariot base found near the village of Çineköy (Fig. 36). The Phoenician-Luwian bilingual inscription that runs along the base credits Ba'al/Tarhunza for the good fortune experienced by the kingdom, and in one instance qualifies the deity as "Ba'al KR" (CİNEKÖY; Tekoğlu et al. 2001; Orthmann 2022).[138]

A slightly later statue of the Storm God on a double bull base from the site of Karatepe is also inscribed with a Phoenician inscription; it was found just inside the monumental South Gate with its Luwian-Phoenician bilingual version of the same inscription, which identifies it as "this Ba'al KRNTRYŠ" (Fig. 37). Its text similarly invokes Ba'al/Tarhunza throughout, but also several other deities, including Runza/Rešef-of-the-Goats, a Grain- and Wine-god/lord/lady of grain and wine, Celestial Tarhunza/Ba'al Šamem, Celestial Sun/eternal Sun, and Ea/El, as well as the Moon and Sun. Muksas' house/house of Mopsos may also represent a founder's or dynastic cult. Other Phoenician fragments from Karatepe mention a 'herald' on two separate occasions, one in conjunction with a "Ba'al H[…]" (Fig. 38; KARATEPE 1C; Younger 1998; Çambel 1999).

Both gate complexes of Karatepe feature not only the important Luwian-Phoenician bilingual inscriptions, but also a complex pictorial assemblage that includes several scenes with arguably cultic content. The North Gate complex includes several scenes which may be classified as mythological and perhaps reflective of the cultic background of the communities of

[138] Fragments of a similar basalt statue base in the form of a chariot were also found in the vicinity of Gaziantep, albeit with less detail and likewise without secure archaeological context. Like the CİNEKÖY monument, this chariot also has wheels with eight spokes and what appears to be a circular shield on the back, suggesting a common form and probably contemporaneity.

Azatiwadaya, while the South Gate complex features scenes illustrating funerary cult practices (KARATEPE 1; Hawkins 2000: 45-67; Çambel and Özyar 2003).

In the North Gate complex of Karatepe, a tree of life stands between two rampant goats in the traditional Mesopotamian motif (Fig. 93). Additionally, two figures identified as the Cypro-Phoenician god Bes, adopted already from Egypt, are represented in the North Gate complex, one along the entryway and one within one of the gate chambers. Bes is depicted squatting with his penis hanging between his legs; his facial features are exaggerated, and he wears a squared beard to his chest; two monkeys sit above him in one instance and on his shoulders in the other; and he holds a snake in each hand in his representation within the gate chamber. Finally, two scenes are surmounted by winged sun disks within the North Gate complex: one appears to be held high by a bird-headed winged guardian figure, while the other is too fragmentary for interpretation beyond noting that the iconograph sits above two figures flanking what might be a tree of life. Since several of these motifs are typically interpreted as serving apotropaic functions, it would be reasonable to imagine ceremonies taking place in the liminal space of the North Gate with the purpose of protecting the settlements or its inhabitants before setting out on a campaign, for instance (Gilibert 2011: 97-112).

5.3.3.2 Funerary Monuments

In addition to the monuments illustrating the cults of certain deities within the local panthea of Cilicia, a few funerary monuments illustrating local mortuary cults centered around ancestor veneration also come from the region.[139]

Additionally, the upper portion of a basalt stele discovered during modern construction work in southern Cilicia is also dated roughly to the 9th century BCE (Fig. 94; YUMURTALIK; Bonatz 2000: C 58). It depicts a large, probably male figure wearing a long, belted tunic or robe, holding a short staff behind him in his right hand and a rope in his left hand before him. The end of the rope is broken off just below what appears to be a gourd-shaped musical instrument. Before the figure's face is a smaller seated figure with hands extended, perhaps playing another instrument, or providing an offering to the main figure. A winged sun disk sits above the scene at the top of the stele. This stele appears to be a funerary stele for a local elite, perhaps a royal figure, suggested by the short staff typically held by rulers in much of the wider region, and the connection with the Sun-god through his divine symbol overhead.

A damaged stone votive plaque found at Tatarlı Höyük and dated broadly to the 9th or 8th century BCE provides another example of a funerary scene, this one even more similar to the tradition institutionalized within the Bend during the same period (Fig. 95). The weathered scene depicts a seated and robed figure on the right side with their right hand raised, perhaps holding a drinking cup. On the opposite side, traces of a second, seemingly standing figure are evident, and a table piled with dishes sits between the two figures (Girginer, Oyman-Girginer, and Akıl 2011: 134 fig. 9). While this plaque could stand as evidence of a local interpretation of the funerary

[139] Funerary monuments that also provide information about the cults of certain deities include: CİNEKÖY and KARATEPE.

stele tradition found east of the Amanus in much the same way as the Yumurtalık stele, its portability requires that we also consider importation as a possibility.

The South Gate complex at Karatepe includes two scenes across several orthostats that illustrate an elaborate ceremony venerating a deceased figure, perhaps Azatiwada himself (Fig. 96; Çambel and Özyar 2003). One set of orthostats within the entrance of the South Gate complex depicts a mortal procession with figures playing instruments or bearing offerings, all heading towards a figure seated before a banquet table heaped with dishes; that this may be a relief representation of Azatiwada is suggested by his hornless cap with ear flaps similar to those on his Storm God statue. The scene appears to present an extended version of the mortuary repast signified in the funerary stelae commonly found across the Bend during the Middle Iron Age. A similar scene appears in one of the gate chambers of the same complex, however, its fragmentary state prevents any further analysis. The fact that scenes connected with funerary cultic activity are reserved for the South Gate just beyond which the statue of Azatiwada/Ba'al was erected provides further support for the statue's identification as a funerary monument, most probably representing the founder of the settlement himself, perhaps in addition to the Storm God. One could easily imagine ritual performances centered around the veneration of the settlement's founder occurring within and through the South Gate, while the North Gate was reserved for other rituals, perhaps of an apotropaic function (Gilibert 2011).

5.3.3.3 Discussion

The lack of monumental evidence for cultic institutions in Cilicia during the Early Iron Age and even the beginning of the Middle Iron Age fits well with the lack of evidence for sacred structures. However, the collection of 9th and 8th century BCE sculptural monuments from the

region contrasts with the lack of probable sacred structures, perhaps suggesting a Cilician tradition of defining and elaborating a cultic urban or extra-urban space, rather than requiring any enclosed structures to house cult practices. The 9th century BCE evidence for a cult of the Storm God at Domuztepe and the singular funerary stele from southern Cilicia appear to be intrusions in the Cilician cultic vacuum, probably in all actuality standing as the first concrete evidence for preexisting cult practices, which previously left no material traces. It is possible, however, that the Yumurtalık funerary stele is evidence of an actual intrusion of mortuary practices from the Bend, since this is the only instance of such a stele in Cilicia and it is quite similar to examples from the more inland region. This is additionally supported by the elaboration of the mortuary repast motif in the relief orthostats of Karatepe's South Gate, likely illustrating the local understanding of the tradition most evidently institutionalized in the Bend. The 8th century BCE stele from Adana is surely an intrusion – the text declares it a product of a Karkemišean elite connected to the Country-Lord, and the image of the Storm God of the Vineyard appears to be derived from an earlier cultic institution that spanned the region between Karkemiš and the Amuq; the persistence and spread of this peculiar cult of the Storm God will be treated later in this chapter (see Section 5.4.1.2). The remainder of the monumental evidence from Cilicia, all dating between the second half of the 8th century and perhaps the very beginning of the 7th century BCE, can be attributed to the cultic institutions of the kingdom of Hiyawa. The only certain divine representations are of the Storm God,[140] albeit perhaps standing for several versions of the deity, identified variously in accompanying texts and by his iconography;

[140] The relief representations of the Egypto-Cypro-Phoenician deity Bes may be an exception; while Bes appears in Karatepe to have served the role of a protective mythological creature, it is possible that it was actually a deity within the local pantheon.

common identifications beyond a simple epithetless Storm God are the Celestial Storm God and the Storm God of the Vineyard. The texts that accompany both figural and non-figural monuments are suggestive of a highly diverse and cosmopolitan cultic landscape, with the worship of a great number of traditionally Mesopotamian, West Semitic, and Anatolian deities advocated by the Hiyawan rulers and perhaps practiced by local inhabitants or frequent visitors.

5.4 Cults

The adoption, adaptation, and internal development of particular cults and the worship of selected deities served as a binding characteristic of cultic communities in the Core Region, and undoubtedly in the ancient world as a whole. In this particular context, the various cults of the Storm God – traditionally the god at the top of local panthea within the region (Section 5.4.1), and multiple hypostases of important goddesses – here defined as Divine Ladies and including Kubaba, Ba'alat, and the Divine Queen of the Land (Section 5.4.2), are most informative and most easily compared across the micro-regions of this project. Local and micro-regional variations and similarities in the ways in which certain cults were realized, individual deities were presented and characterized in text and image, and panthea were formulated allow us to distinguish between different cultic communities whose identities were constructed around these selected cultic institutions and maintained by their adherence to them.

5.4.1 The Storm God

The Storm God was the most commonly invoked deity in the Core Region during the Iron Age, appearing as Tarhunza, Hadad, and Ba'al, occasionally with a small number of epithets. His cult was centrally important in all periods of the Bronze and Iron Ages and was the

most frequent to receive dedicated sacred space and monuments of all types to house and proliferate the important cultic institutions centered around him (Tables 2 and 3). Local manifestations of the Storm God can be interpreted from the affixation of toponyms in textual sources; most common among these from the Syro-Anatolian region is the Halabean Storm God, but this appellation is not found within the Core Region outside of the Storm God temple at Aleppo itself (Lovejoy, in press). And while a number of undeciphered epithets from texts of the region would surely prove significant, their lack of clarity prevents interpretation here. Two relatively common epithets from the region, however, provide substantial information about the cults of the Storm God in the northeast Mediterranean during the Iron Age and the communities who worshiped them. As the Celestial Storm God, the deity embodied his role as king in heaven, progenitor of mortal kingship, and provider of military might. As the Storm God of the Vineyard, he retained similar traits, but emphasized his role in agricultural abundance and fertility, and thus the ability to provide for the inhabitants of the lands where he was invoked – another requisite of successful kingship (Matessi and Lovejoy, forthcoming).

5.4.1.1 Celestial Storm God

Already in the early second millennium, a Celestial Storm God or Storm God of Heaven was invoked from Anatolia to Upper Mesopotamia (Schwemer 2008: 15), and it is likely during this time that a myth of the Storm God and his divine kingship spread across the Near East, perhaps transmitted by the institutions of the Temple of the Storm God at Aleppo and through political interactions with the kingdom of Yamhad (Ayali-Darshan 2015: 40). During the Late Bronze Age, in both Anatolia and Syria, myths were composed, detailing the Storm God's rise to power and his acquisition of divine kingship. The Hittite myth of 'Kingship in Heaven' – a 14th

or 13th century BCE Hittite composition inspired by Hurrian mythology and part of a series known as the Kumarbi Cycle (Hoffner 1998; Weeden 2018: 353) – describes the ascendance of the Storm God Teššub to the pinnacle of the Hittite pantheon and to his role as king in heaven. Likewise, in the Ugaritic Ba'al Cycle, the Storm God Ba'al fights for divine kingship over the gods of the sea and underworld in much the same way (Smith 1994; Smith and Pitard 2009). Similarities between these stories (and others) suggest a common origin and perhaps a shared cultic community during the Late Bronze age, albeit with different understandings of the Storm God's particular identity in local contexts (Tugendhaft 2018); due to the central role of the Sea and certain geographic elements shared across these myths, Ayali-Darshan has proposed a Levantine source near the mountain Jebel al-'Aqra by the mouth of the Orontes River (2015: 50).[141]

Across the region, the Storm God's preeminence as king in heaven was conveyed to mortal kings through his divine support. For instance, the Celestial Storm God is the primary force behind the legitimacy of Hittite rule over Ugarit in the 14th century BCE, as he leads the list of divine witnesses to the treaty between Suppiluliuma I and Niqmadu II of Ugarit (Beckman 1996: No. 4). The connection between the institutions of divine and mortal kingship is also visually apparent in both Hatti and Ugarit. The increasingly common adornment of Hittite kings in typically divine attire, such as the horned cap, and development of the *Umarmungsszene* in Hittite glyptic and monumental display demonstrates a shortening of the distance between the royal figure and the gods in the conception of kingship in Late Bronze Age Anatolia. In Ugarit, the connection is directly between the Storm God and the institution of mortal kingship, evident

[141] Hurro-Hittite *Hazzi*, Semitic *Ṣapanu*/*Zaphon*, Classical *Casius*.

in the relief on the famous stele of 'Baal with Thunderbolt', which includes a small, robed figure before the god, almost certainly a representation of the king of Ugarit (Fig. 97b).

During the Iron Age, 'Celestial' is the most common appellation affixed to the Storm God in the Syro-Anatolian region, albeit invoked with varying frequency, and the role of this deity as legitimator of mortal kingship appears to demonstrate continuity from the Late Bronze Age traditions of the region. In the Core Region, the Celestial Storm God is only mentioned in five unique inscriptions with multiple versions of two of them, and most of them are associated in some way with the kingdom of Hiyawa and dated between the late 10th and perhaps early 7th century BCE. The Arsuz stelae are products of the kingdom of Palastina but refer to campaigns against Hiyawa and were discovered on the southern coast of the Bay of İskenderun, just opposite the coast of Cilicia, perhaps even intended for placement as victory stelae in the conquered region (Dinçol et al. 2015). In these stelae, the Storm God acts on behalf of the Palastinean king in his apparent campaign into Cilicia, thus serving as an antagonist to the Hiyawan polity in this narrative. The Celestial Storm God – Tarhunza in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription – is invoked as the primary litigator in the curse formula at the end of the text. The stele of Zakkur discovered at Tell Afis provides the only attestation of the Celestial Storm God – Ba'al Šamem, in this case – with no association to the kingdom of Hiyawa from the Core Region (KAI 202; CoS 2.35). Instead, it links the deity to the kingdoms of Hamath and Lu'aš through the Aramaic inscription commissioned by the southern king during his northward expansion. The İncirli, Hasan-Beyli, and Karatepe monuments are all products of two Hiyawan rulers (Kaufmann 2007; Lemaire 1983; Çambel 1999); the first two appear to be commemorative border stelae of Awarika that were erected in the Cilician frontier, while the last was inscribed in

two monumental gate complexes and upon a statue of the Storm God in the fortified citadel of Azatiwadaya. The Celestial Storm God is found as Ba'al Šamem in the Phoenician inscriptions on each of these monuments, and as Celestial Tarhunza in the Hieroglyphic Luwian of KARATEPE. In the İNCİRLİ text, the deity provides military support and legitimation to the Hiyawan king along with a variety of other gods; and while the fragmentary nature of the HASAN-BEYLİ text prevents any definite interpretation, it appears that the god served in the same capacity there. In the KARATEPE inscription, the Celestial Storm God leads a short list of litigating deities in the curse formula in much the same way as in the ARSUZ inscriptions. In all, the admittedly limited textual evidence for the Celestial Storm God from within the Core Region appears to illustrate a cultic community that spans at least the micro-regions of the northern Levant and Cilicia during the Middle Iron Age. Iconographic evidence is less telling, however, a few features support this interpretation.

No distinct set of iconography can be determined for the Celestial Storm God to distinguish it from that without epithet. The two monuments from the Core Region with figural representations of the deity – the Arsuz stelae and the Karatepe statue – depict the Storm God in unique ways, and their accompanying texts identify the figure specifically as "this mighty Storm God" and "this Ba'al KRNTRYŠ,"[142] eliminating any possibility of confidently attributing the images specifically to the Celestial Storm God. However, certain attributes that are connected specifically to the Storm God as king in heaven are utilized in both monuments. In the reliefs upon the Arsuz stelae, the Storm God holds the diminutive king by the wrist, guiding him

[142] Unfortunately, the epithet that accompanied Tarhunza is no longer preserved in the parallel Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from either gate complex.

forward and bestowing upon him divine gifts necessary for rule; while these are the only instances of this particular relationship between god and king, it is reminiscent of both the Hittite *Umarmungsszene* and the depicted relationship between Ba'al and the Ugaritic king (Fig. 97). The Karatepe statue, on the other hand, displays an ambiguity of divine and royal attributes, seemingly depicting the deified Hiyawan ruler as embodying the divine qualities of kingship issued by the Storm God, or conversely the Storm God wearing the particular mantle of Hiyawan kingship (Lovejoy 2022).

In all probability, the Celestial Storm God may underlie many invocations of the generic Storm God across the region, only given the appellation when his legitimating power and characteristics of divine kingship needed to be emphasized. If this is true, then we might imagine this important deity existing also within the various other Storm Gods with epithets and iconography quite distinct from the typical Storm God. In fact, a similar process appears to have taken place specifically in Early to Middle Iron Age Palastina and Malizi, where the Late Bronze Age Sun-god(dess) was replaced within local panthea through the solarization of the Storm God and other deities, best illustrated by the inclusion of the Anatolian Hieroglyph SOL within divine caps. It appears that this previously preeminent deity was, in the Iron Age, embodied by other deities, and her divine qualities were only occasionally marked by distinguishing iconographs, like the winged SOL sign found in the same regions (Lovejoy 2023). That the Storm God might have embodied the divine qualities of his Celestial hypostasis, even when marked or labeled as another, appears to be a reasonable conclusion in light of this evidence. In whatever form the Storm God took during the Iron Age, his role in legitimizing kingship and empowering rulers

remained consistent and ever present, demonstrating important shared characteristics between cultic communities.

5.4.1.2 Storm God of the Vineyard (and Grain- & Wine-Gods)

The first attestation of the Storm God of the Vineyard is known only from the 8th century BCE; however, the characteristics embodied by this particular deity are derived from earlier variants of the Storm God, namely those from Late Bronze Age Hatti and Ugarit. The epithet itself has never been found associated with the Storm God in the Late Bronze Age, *contra* several interpretations of a Hittite ritual (KUB 43.23) based on the original translation of Haas (1988), but rather the attributes of the Storm Gods of the period appear to be the antecedents of the later deity. Concerning the aforementioned Hittite ritual, Haas reads "the Storm God of the 'greening' Vineyard," and several scholars citing him follow suit, typically omitting the adjective to better accord with the Iron Age epithet, a connection which Haas himself briefly alluded to at the conclusion of his article (Hutter 2003: 224; Mazoyer 2005: 433). However, close attention to the syntax of these lines suggests that they must be read otherwise:

KUB 43.23 – Hittite Ritual (from Haas 1988: 132)

(Vs. 1-2) [^{D}IŠKU]R-*na-aš* DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} *ú-wa-te-et-te-en* ^{D}IM-*an*

[*ḫu-e*]*l-pí-na-aš* ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$-*aš* GEŠTIN LUGAL-*uš ku-in* ˹*da*˺-x[.]

[ ] ˹*e*˺-*ez-du e-ku-ud-du*…

"Bringt, (ihr) männlichen Götter des [Wettergott]es, den Wettergott

des „[grün]enden" (??) Weingartens herbei. [ ] Welchen der König [ ]

[und] (?) er soll essen (und) trinken."

Alternative Translation (my translation)

"You male deities should bring the [Stor]m-god (statue). The wine which the king tak[es](?) of/from the [fre]sh crop of the garden, the Storm God should eat and drink it [ ]."

As the alternative translation demonstrates, the garden, or vineyard, should not be read as an epithet to the Storm God, but rather as an object of the ritual.[143] However, what this text does confirm is the Anatolian Storm God's role in providing agricultural fertility and abundance in the Late Bronze Age, including for the founding and success of vineyards (see also, KUB 35.1; Hutter 2003: 224, 231). It also demonstrates that, in the Hittite tradition, several subordinate deities aided the Storm God in his protection and provision of agricultural space; specifically, among the list of deities that should receive offerings during the ritual are the god Telipinu of the Garden – the son of the Storm God and a deity that is typically associated with vegetation (see also, Mazoyer 2005) – and the goddess Maliya, here defined as 'the mother of wine and grain'. This organization is largely paralleled in the Ugaritic pantheon with Ba'al strongly connected to agriculture and fertility and aided by directly subordinate agriculturally-focused deities; in fact, in the Ugaritic Ba'al Cycle, the Storm God's personal messengers are named Gapn and Ugar, which can be translated as Vine(yard) and Field.[144] And while monumental evidence is much less informative in this regard, attention should be drawn to the weapon held by Ba'al in the Late Bronze Age stele from Ugarit – the spear in his forward hand appears to be composed of vegetation, further tying the Storm God to agriculture in addition to his traditional roles in support of kingship and military might. This common understanding of the

[143] See also, Schwemer (2022: 376 n. 97) for a similar assertion.

[144] Note, however, that Smith and Pitard have suggested that these two minor deities may be "entirely literary characters" due to their absence from any rituals discovered at Ugarit (1994: 222-3, esp. n. 39). This is in contrast with the evidence from Iron Age cultic inscriptions in which the Wine- and Grain-gods are regularly active participants, suggesting an innovation in cultic practice derived from mythical tradition.

Storm God in his connection to agriculture within the institutions of the Late Bronze Age provides yet another shared characteristic of the cultic communities of this period extending from the northern Levant into central Anatolia.

Still predating the advent of the epithet 'of the Vineyard', with evidence dating to as early as the 10th century BCE, separate supportive Grain- and Wine-gods, subordinate and connected to the Storm God in much the same way as the messengers of Ugaritic Ba'al, were invoked in the inscriptions of Karkemiš and Palastina (KARKAMIŠ A11a and A2+3; Hawkins 2000: 93-100, 108-112; ARSUZ 1 and 2; Dinçol et al. 2015; TELL TAYINAT 2; Hawkins 2000: 367-375), and, later in the late 8th century BCE, in Hiyawa and possibly Tuwana (KARATEPE 1; Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000: 45-68; İVRİZ 2; Hawkins 2000: 526; Röllig 2013).[145] Visual representations of these subordinate deities appear on the monuments bearing these inscriptions in the form of iconographic divine symbols; for instance, the grain and grape held by the guided king of Palastina on the Arsuz stelae (Fig. 97a), and perhaps the grain stalk and grape vines that flank the Storm God of the Vineyard on several of the monuments of Tuwana (Fig. 98), stand both as the result of the gods' divine support and as symbols of the deities themselves. While the evidence leaves a roughly three century long hiatus of attestations of these subordinate agricultural deities or agriculturally focused Storm Gods in the Syro-Anatolian region, it stands to reason that their position within the cultic or mythical traditions of the Storm God(s) survived the fragmentation of the Hittite empire and the fall of the kingdom of Ugarit, and persisted in

[145] In the Hittite myth of 'Kingship in Heaven', Teššub is the son of Anu, the Sky-god, and Kumarbi, the Grain-goddess. In the ARSUZ inscriptions, the Good-god Kumarma and the Wine-god Tipariya are mother and father of the Celestial Storm God. The phonetic similarity and logographic equivalence between Kumarma and Kumarbi suggest syncretism between the Hurrian and Syro-Anatolian deities. Weeden has also cautiously proposed that the hitherto unattested "Tipariya has been attracted into the role of father of the storm-god on the basis of the name's superficial partial homonymy with Luwian tipas- "sky", as a stand in for Anu, the sky deity" (2018: 353).

relative continuity in the lands of the most powerful Early Iron Age kingdoms in the region. It should also be noted that, while the earliest Iron Age attestations of these deities come from the kingdoms of Palastina and Karkemiš – often considered 'rump states' of the Hittite empire,[146] descending from its Late Bronze Age traditions – the manifestation of specific and individual Grain- and Wine-gods is more reflective of a continuity of expressly *local* traditions, removed from political control or association, and indeed having survived *despite* the chaos of the political landscape. Likewise, the perseverance and development of these deities suggests the survival of local cultic communities, including those of the destroyed and abandoned Ugarit(!), who carried with them the understandings of their cultic institutions and adapted them to persist within the new sociopolitical reality and cultic landscape of the Early Iron Age.

The emergence of the epithet, Storm God of the Vineyard, occurred in the late 8th century BCE in Tuwana, Sam'al and Hiyawa (SULTANHAN, BOR 1; Hawkins 2000: 463-472, 518-521; KTMW Inscription; Pardee 2009; KARATEPE 1; Younger 1998; Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000: 45-68), and the distinct representations of the deity there, at a time when political diversity in the region was at odds with the expansive efforts of the Assyrian empire, are particularly significant to understanding the cultic landscape of region at that time. While the Early Iron Age Storm God with subordinate Grain- and Wine-gods appears to be a distillation of Late Bronze Age traditions, this epithet and associated iconographic repertoire illustrates an evolution of the Early Iron Age conception of the Storm God and his role in agriculture. This development, however, did not occur uniformly across the area where the deity is found, but rather demonstrates a process of glocalization; the development of this cult in local contexts took

[146] However, see Simon (2020) for an alternative interpretation of the post-Hittite polities in the Early Iron Age.

several forms, perhaps tied to specific polities, regional identities, or cultic communities who shared in their adherence to this institution but with variations in their local traditions associated with the deity.

In Tuwana – a region adjacent to the Core Region, immediately north of the Taurus Mountains from Cilicia, where most scholarship on the subject has focused due to the deities' clear and abundant attestations in text and image – the Storm God of the Vineyard is represented invariably with grape vines and grain stalks in rock reliefs and on stelae (Fig. 98). In most cases, the Storm God stands with one hand raised before him holding a stalk of grain that grows from the ground, and one against his chest holding a grape vine that grows from the ground behind him (İVRİZ 1 and 2; Hawkins 2000: 516-518, 526; BOR 2; Ünal 2015; and KEŞLİK YAYLI 1; Hawkins 2000: 531). An alternative model comes with both arms raised in a smiting posture, wielding an axe and bunch of lightning; in one case the top of the bunch of lightning appears like the top of a lightning trident (NIGDE 2; Hawkins 2000: 526-527). With the change in posture, the grape vines and grain stalks are depicted flanking the figure. This alternative appears to be a modification of the presumably earlier model; the change in attire, slightly longer hair, lack of curled toes, and the different posture with a bunch of lightning instead of the lightning trident could be due to Assyrian influence, perhaps resulting from the campaigns of Sargon II in the last quarter of the 8th century BCE.

In Hiyawa, two statues in-the-round depict the Storm God in a standing position with arms bent, apparently holding an object in each hand. While the objects in both statues' hands are damaged, those of CİNEKÖY are very likely grain and grapes, representing a variation of the motif commonly found in Tuwana during the same period (Fig. 49b; Tekoğlu et al. 2001); those

in the hands of the KARATEPE statue may very well be the same (Çambel 1999).[147] This last is also supported by the recent linguistic analysis of Faris Demir, who proposes that the Phoenician epithet KRNTRYŠ should be interpreted as a composite word, perhaps created through feedback produced by Luwian and Phoenician interaction, with a meaning related to grain and wine (Demir 2021: 91-95). Another monument discovered in Hiyawa, though connected politically with the kingdom of Karkemiš,[148] comes in the form of an inscribed stele (ADANA 1; Hawkins, Tosun, and Akdoğan 2013) depicting the Storm God with grapes and grain even more similarly to those of Tuwana (Fig. 33).

And while much less secure, the mid-8th century BCE statue of Hadad from the royal necropolis at Gerçin, near Zincirli (KAI 214), may fit a similar model to the Hiyawan statues (Figs. 26 and 36).[149] The Storm God appears in much the same position and attire, and his arms are bent forward, perhaps holding two objects, although the hands are broken off, so this cannot be confirmed. Support, however, comes from the KTMW Stele from Sam'al, in which Hadad of the Vineyard is explicitly invoked (Pardee 2009). These Sam'alian monuments, alongside the two statues of Hiyawa – each providing a direct link between the Storm God and an individual king, ruler, or elite figure – suggest a micro-regional connection between the Storm God of the Vineyard and elite mortuary or ancestor cults.[150] This particular role of the deity may also have

[147] Wicke (2015) suggest that they are lightning and a plant, possibly grapes.
[148] Commissioned by Atika, son of Kamani of Karkemiš, dedicating to the MAS(A)HULNALI Storm God (ADANA 1; Hawkins, Tosun, and Akdoğan 2013).
[149] This may also be true for the statue of Panamuwa II found at nearby Tahtalı Pınar, but without the discovery of the upper half, this remains speculative. The apparent lack of a staff running down the length of the lower body may suggest that it should be interpreted as a depiction of a deity, perhaps embodying a king or the kingship of Sam'al, rather than only a deified ruler in the model of other royal ancestor cult statues from the Bend.
[150] See also an orthostat found at Zincirli between the south gate and the south temple, presumably along a processional way, depicting "a 'tree of life' and a long-robed official holding a staff in his right hand and an ear of wheat and a bunch of grapes in his left" (Schloen and Fink 2009: 215-6).

importance slightly further north in the region of Maraş, where some funerary stelae depict a male figure holding grain and grape, often in one hand and with a short staff held in the other and often considered an implement of rule (Figs. 80c, 81c, and 84b). A number of statues from Maraş, and one from Zincirli, that are generally interpreted as representing rulers, due in part to the remains of a staff running down the length of their lower body, may fit a similar model; in all cases, however, the hands are broken off, preventing definite interpretations (Figs. 18, 20, and 77a). The situation in Maraş is tenuous in its connection to this cult, however, as funerary monuments depict male and female figures holding a wide variety of objects, often interpreted as icons associated with professions or status or as symbolic offerings to the dead. In this context, Dominik Bonatz interprets grain stalks and bunches of grapes in the hands of monumental figures as referring to "the generative power of bread, beer and wine, confirmed by their numerous citations in ritual texts" (Bonatz 2016: 181). He also suggests, without elaboration, that wine "can be considered to be a prestigious regional symbol invested with different religious and eschatological meanings" (Bonatz 2016: 181 n. 16). While all of this may be true, it does not exclude a connection with the cult of the Storm God of the Vineyard.

Notably, the entire corpus of images of the Storm God bearing grape and grain is found only in the same regions where the Storm God is connected to the Grain- and Wine-gods or qualified by the epithet 'of the Vineyard', signifying a 'global' phenomenon within the macro-region. This region encompasses several polities and extends across substantial natural boundaries, suggesting at least waves of interregional interaction between the northern Levant and central Anatolia (Matessi 2021; Matessi and Lovejoy, forthcoming). While these interactions may have been mediated by Kizzuwadna during the Late Bronze Age and by Karkemiš during

the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages along the shifting exchange routes, the ubiquity of the cult of the Storm God of the Vineyard in the Core Region and surrounding areas, albeit with local variations, suggests a process of glocalization enabled by some form of regular interaction between the northern Levant, Cilicia, and central Anatolia, and probably a common cultic community with a shared understanding of its existence in distinct local contexts. This last is supported by evidence of script and language use in the region, where the combination of Hieroglyphic Luwian and alphabetic Phoenician defines a distinct sociolinguistic landscape limited to the same geography as the institutions connected to cult of the Storm God of the Vineyard.

5.4.1.3 Discussion

The cult of the Storm God remained the most prominent of all deities within the Core Region from the Late Bronze Age through the Iron Age (Lovejoy, in press). The Celestial Storm God, in particular, served as the divine representative most directly connected to the rulers of the region in all periods as a product of the Bronze Age mythological traditions of his own acquisition of divine kingship. During the Iron Age, this hypostasis of the Storm God was expressly worshiped by cultic communities in Cilicia and the northern Levant, while evidence remains lacking for the Bend. The use of the epithet 'Celestial' in parallel with other generic attestations of the Storm God without epithet suggest that the appellation was invoked specifically to emphasize the Storm God's role in the divine legitimation of mortal kingship, not necessarily to identify a different version of the deity. This would subsequently suggest that many other Storm Gods with various epithets could contain this Celestial quality, much like the solar qualities of the Late Bronze Age Sun-god(dess) were embodied by other deities during the

Iron Age (Lovejoy 2023), even when different characteristics were emphasized by the use of another epithet for the head deity of most local panthea.

The Storm God of the Vineyard represents an innovation localized to the Core Region, albeit with some few extensions beyond its borders at the end of its developmental trajectory (Matessi and Lovejoy, forthcoming). This deity was created from the Late Bronze Age Hittite and Ugaritic traditions that connected the Storm God to fertility, abundance, and agriculture, both directly and through association with subordinate deities. From these roots, a Storm God with subordinate Grain- and Wine-gods emerged during the Early Iron Age in Karkemiš and Palastina, and later in Hiyawa and Tuwana. The Storm God of the Vineyard, bearing that specific epithet, appeared only in the late 8th century BCE in Tuwana, Sam'al, and Hiyawa, and with micro-regionally distinct traditions of monumentalization and representation suggesting both a common community of worship, but also local variations, which certainly led to differing community identities and specific means of worship, despite the shared participation in the cultic institutions connected to the deity, altogether indicative of a process of glocalization.

5.4.2 Divine Ladies

Besides the Storm God, an assortment of similar goddesses appears in the upper echelon of many panthea of the Syro-Anatolian region, including it seems within the Core Region of this project. Many of these goddesses share onomastic components, iconography, and even cultic functions, all of which are attested in the inscriptions and sculptural monuments of the region, and together suggesting shared cultic institutions and a common cultic community whose identity included the choice to and means of worshipping these Divine Ladies (Tables 4 and 5). These goddesses include several local hypostases of Kubaba, as well as a northern Levantine

Divine Queen of the Land/Divine Lady of the Earth and the central-northern Levantine Ba'alat/Pahalat. While each of these Divine Ladies surely stood as a distinct deity in the minds of their communities of worship, their common traits suggest also a shared conceptualization of divinity (Pongratz-Leisten 2021). In order to understand the cults of Divine Ladies in the associated institutions within the Core Region, the following section will situate them within the broader Syro-Anatolian region by summarizing the corpus of micro-regionally distinct cults central to local communities from south-central Anatolia to the Upper Euphrates to Hama in the south, with some cultural connections reaching even further south to the Central Levant and perhaps even Egypt; cults will be grouped by similar theonyms, beginning with the many cults of Kubaba, and proceeding with the Divine Queen/Lady of the Land/Earth, followed by Ba'alat/Pahalat, an organization which inherently also proceeds from Anatolia progressively southward into the Levant. From this analysis, it will become clear that the 'global' idea of Divine "Lady" – commonly characterized by the inclusion of typically royal titles like 'lady' and 'queen' – was shared by many communities of worship in the Iron Age Syro-Anatolian region, including within the Core Region itself, and was understood and expressed in locally distinct ways through a process of glocalization.

5.4.2.1 The Many Cults of Kubaba

The cult of Kubaba, best known for its connection with Iron Age Karkemiš, was active already in the Late Bronze Age Hurrian cultic landscape of Cilicia and northwest Syria. Onomastics with the theophoric element are known from Alalakh from as early as the 17th or 16th century BCE, with increased popularity in the 15th century BCE (Laroche 1960: 116). Several Hittite rituals provide evidence for Kubaba's role in the cults of Kizzuwadna, and a variety of

other Hittite texts confirm her presence in Karkemiš, already paired in some cases with the tutelary deity Karhuha (Hutter 2017: 114-115). Continued interactions between these regions almost certainly resulted in an amalgamation of Levantine, northern Syrian, and southern Anatolian influences in the Syro-Anatolian region in subsequent periods, and evidence for the prominence of one tradition or another, alongside specific innovations, can be found in the various local hypostases of the deity and her institutions in the Iron Age.

During the Iron Age, these cults continued to spread throughout the Syro-Anatolian region, where Kubaba is invoked in various capacities, suggesting a number of local or regional cultic communities. And while the cult of Kubaba is perhaps most explicitly dominant at Karkemiš, where it was central to the kingdom alongside those of Tarhunza and Karhuha as a sort of divine triad (Hawkins 1981), it should not be imagined as the source of the cult in all Iron Age references to the deity. For instance, as Hutter has recently suggested, Tabalean texts appear to reflect a primarily Kizzuwadnean tradition, pairing Kubaba with other deities from that pantheon, and only secondarily reflecting the influence of the Karkemišean institution (2017: 116). With that in mind, the following sections aim to define the local hypostases of the goddess best known from Karkemiš with her many aliases and corresponding roles within the cultic communities of the Syro-Anatolian regions.

In Karkemiš, by the beginning of the 10th century BCE, the local cult of Kubaba was already thriving and the goddess herself was invoked alongside the Storm God in support of Ura-Tarhunza, the Great King of Karkemiš (KARKAMIŠ A4b; Hawkins 2000: 80-82; also on KH.11.O.400 Stele of Suhi I; Dinçol et al. 2014). Around the same time, Kubaba acted alongside her likely consort Karhuha as litigator in curse formulae (KARKAMIŠ A14b+a; Hawkins 2000:

83-87). Later in the same century, a divine triad of Tarhunza, Karhuha, and Kubaba appears to formalize during the reign of Katuwa, together acting to sacralize his royal power, legitimate his rule, and provide consequences for those who oppose him, all spelled out upon the urban monuments of his domain (KARKAMIŠ A11a, A11b+c, A12; Hawkins 2000: 94-108, 112-114). While these deities could also act in various pairs or individually with relatively equal status (KARKAMIŠ A2+3, A13d; Hawkins 2000: 108-112, 115-117), Kubaba's particular importance is demonstrated by references to her temple (KARKAMIŠ A23, A26a1+2; Hawkins 2000: 116-118), likely located atop the acropolis (Woolley 1952: 210), seemingly only matched by that of the Storm God, and by her distinct title: Queen of Karkemiš (KARKAMIŠ A20a1+2, A25a; Hawkins 2000: 118-122).

While we lack certain evidence for the 9th century Karkemišean cult of Kubaba, the rich corpus of 8th century sources suggests a continuity of the institution with only minor innovations made by individual rulers. For instance, the inscriptions of Yariri include similar variable groupings of Tarhunza, Kubaba, and/or Karhuha, but interestingly with the addition of the Sun-god in an equal position, perhaps an expression of the ruler's personal beliefs; in each case, these gods are invoked in support of Yariri's position or for the benefit of the royal family, with Kubaba addressed individually on multiple occasions (KARKAMIŠ A6, A15b, KARKAMIŠ stone bowl; Hawkins 2000: 123-128, 130-133, 139-140).

Similarly, Kamani explicitly credits Karhuha and Kubaba for legitimating his succession, building a temple and 'honored precinct' for Kubaba, Queen of Karkemiš, in much the same way as his ancestor; he even suggests a regional importance of Kubaba's cult, justifying his building project as a place for other kings and lords to come worship his tutelary goddess (Stele of

Kubaba by Kamani: K A31+A30b1-3; Marchetti and Peker 2018). Likewise, Kamani frequently invokes the divine triad as litigators for his curse formulae, but at this time with a broader range of concerns: not only matters of royal power, but also administrative concerns, such as the sale of homes or estates, or a city charter (CEKKE, KARKAMIŠ A4a, A25b; Hawkins 143-154, 156-157). The remaining references to Kubaba from Karkemiš, mostly dated between the 9th and 8th century BCE, all attest to a similar role and position of the deity, suggesting that these characteristics were firmly institutionalized within her cult (KARKAMIŠ A21+A20b, A13a-c, A15e, A18e, A18i-j, ANKARA, KÖRKÜN; Hawkins 2000: 157-163, 167-175, 194-196, 200, 559-561).[151] In Karkemiš, Kubaba was a top-tier goddess, who was active in royal legitimation and power and as guarantor of royal proclamations and, in the 8th century, in matters of urban administration.

Visual representations of Kubaba from Karkemiš are limited but informative (Fig. 99). From the late 10th century BCE, a relief from the Processional Way depicting a seated goddess upon a recumbent lion, wearing a polos and veil, and holding a mirror and pomegranate, can be confidently ascribed as representing Kubaba, though no inscription names her as such (Orthmann 1971: F/7b; Gilibert 2011: 44-45). Another roughly contemporaneous relief depicts a goddess with a decorated horned polos and veil, and holding a pomegranate; while the other hand is missing, many have proposed that it may have held a mirror (Orthmann 1971: C/3; Gilibert 2011: 31-33). However, another goddess on a nearby relief is represented in much the same way, except with a pomegranate and a stalk of grain, suggesting that she may be a separate deity

[151] In one inscription upon a stone bowl, tentatively dated to the 9th century BCE, Kubaba is found grouped between Karhuha and Santa in the curse formula (BEIRUT stone bowl; Hawkins 558-559), and an inscribed stele base dated roughly to the 10th to 9th century BCE refers to the dedication of a granary to Kubaba (KARKAMIŠ A30h; Hawkins 2000: 177-178).

altogether, perhaps the Hittite Maliya or the unspecified local Grain-God(dess) (Orthmann 1971: C/1 with discussion on 276-277).[152] A last stele from around the 10th century BCE depicts Kubaba with a prominent horned polos but no veil; she holds a mirror and pomegranate and stands below a winged sun disc (Orthmann 1971: Biricek 1).[153] From the later kings of Karkemiš, only Kamani's Stele of Kubaba, thus dated to the first half of the 8th century BCE, assuredly depicts the goddess; there, she stands in a long robe and ornamental jewelry, crowned by a decorated polos with hair falling below, and she holds a decorative mirror in her left hand (Orthmann 1971: K/1; Gilibert 2011: 109-112; Marchetti and Peker 2018). A final relief from Karkemiš, probably dated to the 8th century, depicts a seated goddess holding a mirror and wearing a highly decorated robe and veil, perhaps also Kubaba (Orthmann 1971: K/6). In all, it appears that, at Karkemiš, Kubaba's defining features include her polos, long robe, and veil, as well as a mirror and, often, a pomegranate held in her hands, all illustrating an established iconographic repertoire employed by the cultic communities who proliferated the institutions surrounding her worship. Her posture – standing or seated – may have some meaning, but none that the current evidence can suggest. Her relationship with the lion is likewise nondescript, except perhaps for its symbolism of royal power, as suggested by Lynn Roller (1999: 49).

In the Masuwarean tradition of nearby Tell Ahmar, at least for the period of king Hamiyata around end of the 10th century BCE, Kubaba appears to have a much less prominent role within local cultic communities. While she still acts as royal legitimator and litigator of

[152] The grain is no longer preserved and the fragment bearing it is lost, however, it is depicted in an 1876 sketch by George Smith (Marchetti and Peker 2018: 92 fig. 17a). See also Hutter 2021: 295, for a discussion of the possible persistence of Maliya in the region of Tabal; also, Lovejoy (in press) and Matessi and Lovejoy (forthcoming) for the role of the Grain-god in the Syro-Anatolian region.

[153] The stele was later joined with a base inscribed with KARKAMIŠ A30h (Hawkins 2000: 177-178) due to the proximity of find spots and the fit of the tenon and mortise hole.

curse formulae, the goddess so important at Karkemiš appears in the middle or end of long lists of deities, and never in a primary position. On the other hand, her proximity to Karhuha in almost all Masuwarean inscriptions suggests that this local cult of Kubaba is still reflective of Karkemišean traditions, if not the hierarchy of the pantheon, and perhaps even an extension of the Karkemišean cultic communities with some local distinctions (TELL AHMAR 1, 2, 6, ALEPPO 2; Hawkins 2000: 227-230, 235-243; Bunnens 2006).

The situation in Malatya is epigraphically limited, but pictorial evidence provides some insight into the institutions guiding Kubaba's worship (Fig. 100). Most informative is a late 10th century BCE rough stone stele bearing an incised Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription and a depiction of two deities beneath a winged sun disc. The two figures are identified as Karhuha, depicted standing astride a lion and wielding a spear and what might be lighting or grain stalks, and Kubaba, who sits in a chair upon the back of a bull, wearing a polos and veil, and holding a mirror before her (Orthmann 1971: B/4). The pairing immediately connects the monument with the Karkemišean cultic milieu. The peculiar writing of Karhuha's name, including the sign CERVUS$_2$ before the syllabic spelling, however, has led Hawkins to suggest that this might be a Karkemišean form of the Stag-god Runtiya (2000: 328-329; MALATYA 13; Hawkins 2000: 328-329). This would indicate, then, that the Malatyan cult of Kubaba – if the conceptualization of her consort is any indicator – is reflective of a hybrid Luwo-Karkemišean tradition within this cultic community, perhaps expressed in this form in response to the regional dominance of the polity to the south. While no other references to Kubaba are known from Malatya, it is worth noting that two other reliefs depict non-divine women wearing a polos and veil, appearing quite similar to Kubaba (Fig. 101). One woman, identified as Prince(ss) Tuwati, pours a libation for

the goddess Šauška before her upon a relief orthostat (Orthmann 1971: A/7; MALATYA 6; Hawkins 2000: 307-308), while another woman is depicted at a mortuary repast on a fragmentary monument – unfortunately any object she might have held is lost in a break (Orthmann 1971: B/3; MALATYA 2; Hawkins 2000: 327). These two examples begin to demonstrate the problem of identifying Kubaba or aspects of her cult: while the former is clearly labeled as a royal figure, the latter appears to have been labeled with a secondary inscription, confusing the matter even more, but perhaps connected to Kubaba through a chthonic role, which will be suggested from the evidence of Maraş.

Kummuhean Kubaba provides another example of a mixed local cult active around the end of the 9th century BCE during the reign of Suppliuliuma. While the goddess is found individually in some inscriptions (BOYBEYPINARI 1, 2; Hawkins 2000: 334-340), she is also commonly found alongside, among other local deities, Runtiya, who appears to fully replace Karhuha in the more Luwo-dominant cultic milieu, albeit still recognizing the role of the tutelary consort of the Karkemišean Kubaba (ANCOZ 1, 5, 7, and probably KÂHTA 1; Hawkins 2000: 345-347, 349-350, 356-357; Simon 2014b). Her role remains that of litigator in most cases where context is preserved, though she is also the target of offerings and dedications by several royal figures. Even more striking is the title that accompanies her name in every attestation from the region; in Kummuh, she is known always as *Ala*-Kubaba or Lady Kubaba. While this is reminiscent, in some regard, of her title '*Queen* of Karkemiš', it may also provide a conceptual connection to several southern hypostases of the deity, namely the Divine *Queen* of the Land of Palastina and *Pahalat* of Hama (to which we will return later), suggesting an interregional cultic community with a shared conceptualization of a prominent Divine Lady, albeit with significant

local variations in the institutions surrounding her worship, invocation, and depiction. Only one fragmentary relief depicting the goddess is known from the region, but it appears to depict her in standard garb, seated, and holding a pomegranate in the one preserved hand (Orthmann 1971: Ancuzköy 1).

The Tabalean Kubaba is known from sources dating to about the second half of the 8th century BCE. In most cases, the inscriptions are reflective of a Hurro-Luwian cultic tradition, likely a product of the strong presence of the Late Bronze Age cults of Kizzuwadna just beyond the Taurus (Hutter 2017: 116). Kubaba is most often found alongside Tarhunza, sometimes paired with Ea, and occasionally with other traditionally Hurrian gods like Hebat, Šarruma, and Alašuwa. She mostly functions as a litigator in curse formulae (KAYSERİ, KARABURUN; Hawkins 2000: 472-475, 480-483), in one case through her agent 'the HASAMI-dog of Kubaba' (KULULU 1; Hawkins 2000: 442-444), but is also found receiving dedications following a royal building project, perhaps including shrines(?) (ÇİFTLİK; Hawkins 2000: 448-451; perhaps something similar in KULULU 5; Hawkins 2000: 485-487), and in a late inscription providing favor to a local ruler (BULGARMADEN; Hawkins 2000: 521-525). While these examples are suggestive of a primarily Kizzuwadnean tradition behind the local institutions pertaining to the cult of Kubaba, one Tabalean reference to Kubaba of Karkemiš in a curse formula of a subject of Wasusarma is indicative of cultural interaction in the cultic sphere (SULTANHAN; Hawkins 2000: 463-472), perhaps expressed through a Karkemišean elite transplant or an extension of the Karkemišean cult into the Tabalean population.

While those regions from the Upper Euphrates to the south-central Anatolia appear to represent a continuum of cultic traditions as they concern the goddess Kubaba, with

Karkemišean and south-central Anatolian poles, the territories south of the Taurus and along the northern Levant are indicative of transformations beyond the Hurro-Anatolian realm. Maraş may be the one exception to this, but evidence from the region provides little insight into the cult of Kubaba and the institutions surrounding her worship, with only a single explicit reference to the goddess. However, this undated and poorly preserved fragment of an inscribed block mentions Kubaba alongside Karhuha, clearly in the Karkemišean tradition (MARAŞ 10; Hawkins 2000: 280). Additionally, the monuments of Maraş provide a robust corpus of examples of elite mortal women wearing the same polos and veil as Kubaba, and even holding a mirror in several cases, in their depictions on funerary stelae (e.g., Figs. 73, 74, and 75; Orthmann 1971: Maraş B/7 [MARAŞ 2; Hawkins 2000: 273-274], Maraş A/2 [MARAŞ 12; Hawkins 2000: 275], Maraş B/14, Maraş B/19, and MARAŞ 15; Hawkins 2000: 281). The attire of these women appears to reflect a standard style of dress for elite women, whether mortal or divine, and likely only serve as an indicator of gender and social status, not in any way connected to any specific personal identity.[154] Together with the mirror, however, this iconographic assemblage seems to imply some connection with goddess, perhaps suggesting that Kubaba had some chthonic role at least in the areas where her semiotic markers were attached to the deceased and that this region was home to an elite community characterized by its participation in an institution of ancestor veneration, perhaps connected to Kubaba.

Alternatively, Cilician – or perhaps Hiyawan – Kubaba is known only from a single 9th century BCE stele from the site of Domuztepe, and there only in image (Fig. 92b; Çambel and

[154] The polos and veil might be a necessary semiotic component of representations of Kubaba (or even the Phrygian Matar or Greek Kybele), but they are in no way indicators of her exact identity. Other iconographs or epigraphs are needed for any certain attribution.

Özyar 2003: 149-156). The stele is not inscribed, but it depicts the goddess in her long robe and veil, probably with polos, though the head is damaged. She holds a mirror out in front of her in her left hand, which, together with the winged sun disc positioned above her, clearly marks her as Kubaba, whether known by that name or another. The only other deity known from the site is the Storm God, depicted on another slightly smaller stele. In this early stage, it is difficult to say much of the cult of Kubaba, but nothing suggests external influences, and one might hazard to guess that the local Kizzuwadnean cultic community persisted with little change to its central cultic institutions well into the Iron Age. However, it appears that around the second half of the 8th century BCE, Kubaba may have lost her local significance. With the new cosmopolitan cultic landscape best illustrated by the monuments at Karatepe and characterized by a mixture of Luwian and Phoenician cultural features, it would seem that the Hurro-Anatolian goddess had no place in the Hiyawan pantheon or local cultic communities, as she was not included in any inscription, nor represented in any later sculptural monuments of the polity.[155]

Across the Amanus, the Sam'alian inscription on the Ördekburnu stele, dated around the end of the 9th century BCE, refers to a Kubaba of Aram, most probably reflecting a resilience of a local, northern Levantine tradition, which is supported by the goddess' pairing with Rākib-El, the dynastic god of Sam'al (Lemaire and Sass 2013). Lawson Younger has recently proposed that this manifestation of Kubaba should be identified with a cult centered at Arpad, the capital of Bit-Agusi (2020: 6), perhaps suggesting a regional prominence. The late 8th century BCE funerary stele of KTMW from Zincirli appears to reflect the continued evolution of this cult in

[155] A 5th or 4th century BCE Aramaic inscription discovered at Kastabala in eastern Plain Cilicia refers to Kubaba, but this evidence falls well outside of the chronological scope of this project and fits within very different sociopolitical and cultic landscapes (Andrade 2011).

Sam'al; Kubaba is invoked at the end of a list of deities and immediately before the 'soul' of the deceased, all of whom are described partaking in a mortuary repast to sacralize the space (Pardee 2009). From this limited evidence, it would seem that, within the Sam'alian context, Kubaba's role was largely concerned with the afterlife, perhaps imagined as a chthonic deity in a subordinate position to those connected with kingship and important cities in the local cultic institutions. It would also seem, however, that Kubaba was visually defined by the same traditions as in the north, suggesting at least some shared characteristics between the local cultic communities; at Zincirli, she appears to be depicted twice on relief orthostats wearing a robe, veil, and horned polos, and holding a mirror and pomegranate in her hands (Fig. 65a; Orthmann 1971: B/13b). While dress alone would not be enough to suggest this identification, the horn upon her polos and Kubaba's divine implements leave little doubt of her identity.

In Bit-Agusi, the cult of Kubaba appears in the Levantine cultic context as she stands alongside Rešef in the text of an 8th century BCE inscribed stele fragment from near Al-Safirah, in the vicinity of Aleppo, thus lending support to Younger's hypothesis of an Aramaic cult of Kubaba located nearby. Above the text are remnants of a relief preserving feet standing upon the hindquarters of a quadruped, perhaps a bull referring to the Storm God, or even a stag referring directly to Rešef, named in the text (Tocci 1962: 21-2; Niehr 2014: 155; Bunnens 2006: 110). Without further evidence to distinguish more local hypostases, we might imagine the cultic institutions of Sam'al and Bit-Agusi being one and exhibiting expressly Levantine or Aramaic

characteristics, quite separate from the traditions of Karkemiš or south-central Anatolia, and distinguishing this more southern cultic community from those to the north.[156]

As early as the 11th century BCE, the northern Levantine kingdom of Palastina appears to have been interested in the cult of Karkemišean Kubaba, attested in a fragmentary inscription from the temple of the Storm God at Aleppo (ALEPPO 7; Hawkins 2011). Only one other reference to the deity comes from the Amuq Plain: a roughly 9th to 8th century BCE inscription on a building block found in secondary context, which invokes Kubaba and the Haranean Moon-God as litigators in a curse formula, two deities often paired in the north Syrian tradition of Karkemiš, but not explicitly linking the traditions; the author of the inscription appears to be a Runti(ya)wari, or the like, providing an alternative connection through the theophoric element to the south-central Anatolian traditions (TULEIL 2; Hawkins 2000: 382-383).[157] In any case, these incredibly fragmentary inscriptions, separated by several centuries, can provide little insight into the development of the institutions and communities surrounding the cult of Kubaba in this region.

This limited corpus of monuments may be expanded, however, if we accept a suggestion of Annick Payne: the Divine Queen of the Land may be a local manifestation of Kubaba, found within the northern Levant between the Amuq and the area just north of Hama. This is supported

[156] It is worth noting, however, that the treaty of Aššur-nerari V and Mati'-ilu of Arpad mentions Kubaba and Karhuha late in a list of divine witnesses in the curse. Importantly, the Levantine deities follow Mesopotamian ones, suggesting the hierarchy intended by the scribe or commissioning authority (SAA 2, 2). While this treaty is relevant in understanding the wider Near Eastern worldview of the cult of Kubaba in the Syro-Anatolian region, its etic perspective provides only the view of the Assyrians, not any reality in the region of the northern Levant.
[157] The Esarhaddon Vassal Treaty from Tell Tayinat mentions Kubaba and Karhuha of Karkemiš at the end of divine witnesses to the curse, and immediately before the natural forces (SAA 2, 15: §55; Lauinger 2012: 119); this is mirrored in the version from Nimrud, notwithstanding the other internal differences to the god list (SAA 2, 6: §55). As with the Assyrian-Arpadite treaty, these texts are only indicative of the deities that the Assyrians believed to be important in the region, not those that were actually worshipped.

by the inclusion of the same theonym within the name of the author of the SHEIZAR inscription: Kupapiya, meaning 'Kubaba gave (her)' or 'the one of Kubaba' (Payne 2012: 47, n. 40). Following the same line of thought, Younger has identified that the Kubaba of Aram on the Ördekburnu stele – another funerary stele for a woman named Piya, here lacking the theophoric element of the previous name – served in much the same way as the Divine Queen of the Land (Younger 2020: 6).[158]

5.4.2.2 The Divine Queen of the Land, The Divine Lady of the Earth

The Divine Queen of the Land is an apparently local deity whose cult was centered around the Amuq Plain or perhaps connected directly to the kingdom of Palastina. This particular goddess is only mentioned by this name in three Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from the region: SHEIZAR and MEHARDE, both dated to the 10th century BCE, and KIRÇOĞLU, dated to the second half of the 8th century BCE (Hawkins 2000: 383-384, 415-419). The earlier inscriptions both appear on funerary stelae for Palastinean royalty. SHEIZAR describes the mortuary affairs of Kupapiya, the wife of Taita, the Hero of Palastina, and invokes the Divine Queen of the Land as the litigator of the curse formula. The stele upon which it is inscribed is undecorated. The MEHARDE inscription begins by identifying the stele as the goddess, likely referring to the female figure depicted on its front, standing upon a couchant lion and beneath what appears to be a winged sun in the form of the Anatolian Hieroglyph SOL (AH *191),[159] and

[158] Younger also points out the possibility that the Divine Queen of the Land may refer to the goddess Ba'alat, the principal deity of Early Iron Age Byblos and central to the 9th century BCE cultic landscape of Hama (2020: 6 n. 23). One should not exclude the possibility that the Divine Queen of the Land could have been interpreted differently by individuals or communities with varied cultural backgrounds.

[159] Compare with the better-preserved winged sun on Orthmann 1971: Malatya D/1 (MALATYA 14; Hawkins 2000: 313-314); see also Lovejoy (2023) for an analysis of these solarizing iconographic elements within the kingdoms of Palastina and Malizi.

declaring that it was made for her by Taita, presumably the same as that in the previous inscription, and possibly represented by the smaller figure in the scene, standing upon the lion's head (Fig. 8b). The female figure's iconography parallels best the characteristics of the Levanto-Egyptian goddess Qudšu/Qedeš, associated with the region already in the Late Bronze Age Canaanite pantheon at Ugarit; her naked standing posture, her Hathor-headdress, the lion beneath her, and the objects (probably flowers) held in her raised hands are all in accordance with images of the goddess found throughout the eastern Mediterranean, perhaps suggesting that Qudšu/Qedeš was the visual inspiration for the depiction of this local goddess (Cornelius 2008: esp. 94-99; Cornelius 2010). The Divine Queen of the Land also serves as litigator in the concluding curse formula (Hawkins 2000: 417). The KIRÇOĞLU inscription is challenging to interpret in its entirety, but clearly states that an unknown person commissioned the statue upon which the text is inscribed for the benefit of the Divine Queen of the Land, who then honored the commissioner and raised him above his brothers (Hawkins 2000: 384). The statue itself, missing its upper half, appears to be a representation of the goddess (Fig. 102). A fourth monument might be added to these three; while uninscribed, the fragmentary Lady of Tayinat statue from the Palastinean capital may, in fact, depict this Divine Queen of the Land (Fig. 12; Harrison et al. 2018).[160] In any case, it is clear that this goddess was a chthonic deity, protecting the Palastinean royalty in the underworld, perhaps even controlling one's status in the afterlife. Worship of the Divine Queen of the Land was, thus, a central feature of elite communities of Palastina in the

[160] Of course, it is also possible that the statue represents a deceased queen, as suggested by the recent analyses of the TAP team (Stephen Batiuk, pers. comm. 2022), perhaps the same Kupapiya memorialized in the SHEIZAR inscription.

context of ancestor veneration, a characteristic which may have extended to other parts of the Core Region.

Additional support for this assertion may come from an 8th century BCE inscribed funerary stele discovered at Karkemiš, which invokes a 'Divine Lady of the Earth'.[161] While Hawkins has noted the distinction between Land and Earth as possibly signifiying that these are two different deities (2000: 184), they appear to serve the same role as chthonic deities; perhaps the Karkemišean example is an interpretation of the northern Levantine cult, but regardless, these deities were clearly central to elite funerary cultic institutions most prominent in the northern Levant, but apparently extending towards the Upper Euphrates.

5.4.2.3 Pahalat, Ba'alat, and the Canaano-Egyptian Connection

With that, we have reached our last Divine Lady of the Syro-Anatolian region, which is Ba'alat, or Pahalat in the Luwian. While Younger has pointed out the possibility that the Divine Queen of the Land may refer to the goddess Ba'alat, the principal deity of Early Iron Age Byblos and central to the 9th century BCE cultic landscape of Hama (2020: 6 n. 23), it may be more likely that both goddesses were individual hypostases of a similar conceptualization of divinity (Pongratz-Leisten 2021). In Hama, Pahalat serves in a preeminent role around the mid-9th century BCE, in much the same way as Kubaba in Karkemiš. The king Urhilina constructs a temple to house the institutions surrounding this important goddess and aims to increase revenue for her (HAMA 4; Hawkins 2000: 403-406). He fills/constructs/dedicates a granary to her

[161] Written TERRA.DEUS.DOMINA (KARKAMIŠ A5a; Hawkins 2000: 181-184), as opposed to the Divine Queen of the Land, written (DEUS)REGIO-*ni-si-i* (MAGNUS.DOMINA)*ha-su-sa*$_5$+*ra/i-sa* (SHEIZAR; Hawkins 2000: 416-419).

(HAMA 8; Hawkins 2000: 409-410), and erects a stele for her upon the foundation of a city (RESTAN, QAL'AT EL MUDIQ; Hawkins 2000: 407-409). And from the available evidence, it appears that Pahalat was only matched in importance with Tarhunza (HAMA frag. 1; Hawkins 2000: 419). While this Hamathite cult of Pahalat appears to closely parallel the Karkemišean cult of Kubaba, it is also relfective of a connection with Ba'alat of Byblos, both through their name and through their apparently tutelary role within their respective cities. A further connection might be drawn to Ba'alat in the northern Levantine cult of the Divine Queen of the Land; namely, the figure in the MEHARDE stele is depicted nude with what appears to be a 'Hathor-headress' (Hawkins 2000: 415-419), a feature characteristic of Ba'alat and likely a product of her longstanding translation with the Egyptian Hathor (Fig. 103). Alternatively, the imagery might suggest an association with Qudšu/Qedeš, whose iconography is much the same (Cornelius 2008: esp. 94-99; Cornelius 2010), however, these relationships are not mutually exclusive and likely suggest an even greater translatability between Divine Ladies of the region, and further supports the idea of a shared conceptualization of divinity among the cultic communities who worshiped these Iron Age goddesses.

While many have sought an underlying deity beneath the title of Lady, e.g., Aštarte, Ašerah, Hathor, Qudšu/Qedeš, Aphrodite, or Dione (Xella 1994: 196-7; Cross 1997: 28 n. 90), it has also been suggested that Ba'alat is treated as a proper name in the Phoenician texts (Zernecke 2013). This would suggest that Ba'alat is not masking another 'real' deity but stands herself as a locally important goddess with independent traits. However, her adoption by other communities in connection with other deities may suggest certain shared characteristics that allowed for such broad translatability, in the same way that the Divine Queen of the Land, *Ala-* (or Lady) Kubaba,

Kubaba of Aram, and Kubaba of Karkemiš may all have stood as unique local or regional deities, easily interpreted by one community or another as their own version of a shared conceptualization of divinity.

Unfortunately, little else is known about Ba'alat and her cult, whether from Byblos or within the Canaanite mythological traditions more broadly. One might seek insight into Ba'alat's cult through her connection with Hathor. Since both Egyptians and Byblians synchretized the two goddesses as early as the second half of the third millennium BCE (Scandone Matthiae 1987: 401-403; Hart 2005: 65), it stands to reason that they shared fundamental characteristics beyond appearance (Cross 1997: 34 n. 129), and likely similar cultic roles. Hathor's primary roles in Egypt were connected with the well-being of the ruler and with safe passage to the underworld (Scandone Matthiae 1987: 405; Xella 1994: 206; Hart 2005: 66; Smith 2017: 251-255, 384-389), paralleling in many ways the main functions of certain Kubabas south of the Taurus and perhaps also those of Ba'alat.[162] If, in fact, Ba'alat was a goddess connected with both kingship and the underworld, then it is possible that a connection formed between these regional goddesses based on shared roles, providing a foundation for goddesses like the Divine Queen of the Land and Pahalat of Hama, invoked through a title that is also a name, to be conceived with duties to the deceased and to those in power, respectively. These Divine Ladies might then have been interpreted through the mixed communities of the northern Levant, with the (re)emergence of a Kubaba of Aram, coopting the imagery and name of Kubaba, and the cultic role of the underworld deities to the south. On the other hand, the primary role of Pahalat

[162] The functions of Qudšu/Qedeš might also help to understand those of Ba'alat/Pahalat, but unfortunately her role is not well understood due to a lack of direct references.

of Hama as tutelary deity and protector of kingship may indicate a stronger connection with the Karkemišean conceptualization of the premiere goddess of the Iron Age and greater parallels between their cultic institutions and communities of worship.

5.4.2.4 Discussion

Within the Core Region, several female deities, here defined commonly as Divine Ladies, were worshiped by cultic communities in the upper strata of local panthea in a way not uncommon with the situation in the wider Syro-Anatolian region, as well as further south in the Central Levant, demonstrating a 'global' conceptualization of a preeminent goddess from which local realizations of cult practices and beliefs emerged in a process of glocalization. These goddesses include Kubaba in Cilicia and the Bend – specifically 'of Aram' in Sam'al – and the Divine Queen of the Land in Palastina, and find parallels with several other hypostases of Kubaba, as well as those of Ba'alat to the south. Common onomastic and iconographic elements suggest a shared conceptualization of divinity and similar cultic institutions, which presumably facilitated broad translatability between the various Divine Ladies of the Iron Age. Many of these goddesses also share functions within their respective cults, however, certain important distinctions are worth noting. First, while most hypostases of Kubaba appear to serve as tutelary deities connected with urban centers and local institutions of kingship, the hypostasis of Kubaba (of Aram?) worshiped in Sam'al appears to act primarily as a chthonic deity. Similarly, while the Divine Queen of the Land evidently served as the primary chthonic deity of the kingdom of Palastina, the tutelary deity of nearby Hama, by which I mean Pahalat, acted in much the same way as Kubaba of Karkemiš and seemingly Ba'alat of Byblos – legitimating local kingship and serving as an urban cultic focal point. This functional dichotomy beneath the overarching

onomastic and iconographic commonalities may be, in part, the result of preservation circumstances, but it may also reflect a gradient of divine roles within a continuum of Divine Ladies worshipped by local communities within the region.

In any case, it is clear that the institutions connected with these cults of Divine Ladies did not evolve in any linear fashion within the Core Region, nor can the cults of any particular region be said to have come from any single source. The cults in the region of the Bend appear to be divided between the two major urban centers, with greater Levantine influence in the kingdom of Sam'al and greater Karkemišean influence in the kingdom of Gurgum. In the northern Levant, the cults appear to be a mixture of Levantine and north Syrian traditions, and in Cilicia the ephemeral cult of Kubaba appears to have disappeared at the same time as the emergence of Phoenician influence without evidence of a clear successor to the position of the preeminent goddess.

5.4.3 Ancestor Veneration in Elite Communities and Royal Houses: Private and Non-Private Funerary Cults

The seminal work of Dominik Bonatz analyzed the corpus of Syro-Hittite funerary monuments, defining a typology of monuments, identifying continuities and developments from 2nd millennium traditions, and suggesting their role in cult practices of the 1st millennium in the region (Bonatz 2000; also, Bonatz 2016).[163] Of particular relevance are his points that these monuments: need not be connected with an actual place of the dead, but most often rather stand as places for interaction with the deceased; are indicative of a mortuary repast enjoyed by the

[163] Bonatz (2000): A=standing statue, B=seated statue, C=stele.

deceased and the gods, as opposed to a funerary banquet celebrated by descendants; are the focal points of ritualized behavior in which offerings were made; and were commissioned not only by royal figures, but also by non-royal elite members of society. He defines the funerary monuments as "a pictorial representation of the deceased [and] a testament of ritually maintained social relations," acting as a marker of 'spiritual' social status for the deceased and their families (Bonatz 2016: 186, 191). This section will advance Bonatz's research, identifying local and regional variations among funerary monuments and their associated cults, as well as suggesting possible developmental trajectories for these cults. Trends in royal monumental representation will be compared with those emerging in non-royal monuments, suggesting an additional typological distinction. Finally, the existence of an elite, non-royal community defined by their participation in a cultic institution based on ancestor veneration and ritual feasting is suggested by the prolific use of a specific type of funerary stelae in the micro-region of the Bend.

A total of 85 Iron Age sculptural funerary monuments come from the Core Region. The vast majority – ca. 75% – come from the region of the Bend (64 monuments), followed by the northern Levant with ca. 19% (16 monuments), and finally by Cilicia with only ca. 6% (five monuments). Most of these monuments are stelae depicting the deceased, presumably elite members of society, with icons or attire associated with their position in life; they are often, but not always, shown sitting or standing before a table piled with food, representing a ritualized meal for the dead, sometimes accompanied by family members or attendants. These stelae are representative of an elite, mostly non-royal, and private institution of ancestor veneration through ritual feasting. Monumental columnar statues and occasional royal stelae, on the other hand,

provide evidence for a non-private, royal institution centered around dynastic legitimation and memorialization through the worship of deceased predecessors (Table 6).

5.4.3.1 Non-Private and Royal Cultic Institutions of Ancestor Veneration

The distinction between royal and non-royal monuments is not entirely simple without an accompanying inscription. Ambiguity between royal and divine iconography can lead to confusion between gods and rulers (see Section 4.5.4), and elite emulation of royal portraiture alongside unclear social hierarchies can obscure the status of those represented on monuments. Implements of rule, such as staves, rods, or scepters, may be used to distinguish royal figures, however, this is not a secure method of identification. The inscribed statue bearing MARAŞ 14 is explicitly a non-royal monument commissioned by a Gurgumean official yet mimicking the typical squared form of the kingdom's royal statuary (Fig. 20; Hawkins 2000: 265-267). If those implements are accepted as representative of an elite status connected to the royal household, whether as part of the royal family or as an attendant or official, then a selection of funerary stelae from as early as the mid-10th to the 8th century BCE, with a style in accordance with non-royal customs, may be included in the corpus of royal funerary monuments along with the statue of the Gurgumean official.[164]

The earliest known royal funerary monument from Gurgum is the early 10th century BCE stele of Larama I, which depicts the ruler standing in a long, fringed robe and holding a staff in his outstretched right hand (Fig. 16; MARAŞ 8; Hawkins 2000: 252-255; Bonatz 2000: C 1). By the end of the same century, a tradition of depicting deceased rulers in standing statues was

[164] i.e., MARAŞ 12, KARABURÇLU, ÖRTÜLÜ, ÖRDEKBURNU, and Bonatz 2000: A 15, C 13, C 21, C 23, C 12, C 22, C 43, and C 61.

institutionalized throughout The Bend and in parts of the northern Levant, persisting through the 9th century BCE with locally specific manifestations produced by elite communities. In the area around Maraş, these statues were squared and held a staff in their right hands, pressed firmly against their lower bodies. In the region around Zincirli, statues were more rounded; an example from the late 10th to early 9th century BCE is nearly cylindrical but displaying a nearly identical attire and staff as the Gurgumean monuments (Fig. 22; Bonatz 2000: A 6). The relief orthostat of Kulamuwa has also been interpreted as a funerary monument due to iconography, especially the lotus held in the king's hand (Fig. 48a; Bonatz 2000: 102-103; see also Section 4.5.3).

In the northern Levant, the earliest funerary monuments are the stelae for Taita II and Kupapiya and the monumental statue of a seated figure form Tayinat, perhaps representing the same Taita or his ancestor by the same name (Figs. 8 and 10; SHEIZAR, MEHARDE; Hawkins 2000: 415-419). While the statue associated with the monumental throne bearing TELL TAYINAT 1 appears to be the earliest funerary statue of the region (Hawkins 2000: 365-367), the later 9th century BCE statues of Suppiluliuma II and the Lady of Tayinat from the same site are likely standing and perhaps royal and funerary (Denel and Harrison 2018; Harrison et al. 2018), and alongside the contemporaneous standing statues of Taftanaz (Bonatz 2000: A 9, A 10, B 1, B 10), they appear to illustrate a shift in royal funerary representations in the kingdom of Patina/Unqi and its surrounding region. Notably, the statues of the northern Levant do not include a staff in the hand of the ruler; the figures in the Taftanaz monuments hold a short rod, while Suppiluliuma holds what appear to be a blade and a stalk of grain (Figs. 60a and 42a). These differences in the iconographic assemblage used to depict the deceased royalty of the

northern Levant from that employed in the Bend distinguish the institutions of royal ancestor veneration of the two regions.

During the 8th century BCE, definite royal funerary monuments come only in the form of statues in the Core Region and do so only from the area around Zincirli and Cilicia. In the northern Levant and in the Maraş area, there is only a singular miniature inscribed statue in each region that may be a funerary monument, apparently votives for the Divine Queen of the Land and Tarhunza, respectively (KIRÇOĞLU; MARAŞ 3; Hawkins 2000: 383-384, 267-269). From Sam'al, the memorial statues for Panamuwa I and II (HADAD; PANAMUWA; KAI 214-215; CoS 2.36-37; Tropper 1993: 54-139), and from Hiyawa, the statues for Awarika and Azatiwada illustrate a continuity and expansion of the previous tradition of royal monumental representation (Figs. 49 ad 101; CİNEKÖY; KARATEPE; Tekoğlu et al. 2001; Çambel 1999). The Sam'alian tradition, and even that evident in the monument from Çineköy, appears to be a direct descendant of that seen in the earliest statue from Zincirli (Fig. 46; Bonatz 2000: A 6), while the statue from Karatepe is more reminiscent of the squared statues from the kingdom of Gurgum. This is not to suggest that the occupants of Karatepe were descendants of Gurgum – though it is not impossible that some were immigrants from the northeast – but Azatiwada or his successor may have seen the other kingdom's earlier monuments and taken them as inspiration for his own statue. Lastly, should the relief orthostat of Kulamuwa prove to be a funerary monument, then the later reliefs of the last Sam'alian king, Bar-Rākib, should also be interpreted as such (Fig. 50; Bonatz 2000: 102-103; see also Section 4.5.3).

In a general sense, all of these funerary monuments suggest some sort of ancestor veneration (Insoll 2011 with literature therein). However, in the case of several of the

definitively royal monuments, especially those with substantial inscriptions, we may interpret an actual dynastic cult in which the founder of a kingdom or a notable ancestor is commemorated long after death and beyond their immediate successors. In Gurgum, later kings venerated their ancestors for a great many generations; the genealogy recounted in the inscription of Halparuntiya III, dated to the end of the 9th century BCE, extends back seven generations to the founder of the dynasty, Larama I (MARAŞ 1; Hawkins 2000: 261-265), and the inscription of Halparuntiya II explicitly exalts his four predecessors, culminating with his 'forefather', known from the previous inscription to be the same Larama I (MARAŞ 4; Hawkins 2000: 255-258). Even the founder's own early 10th century BCE inscription acknowledges his father and grandfather, albeit not in any commemorative way, as he describes his foundation of the kingdom of Gurgum (MARAŞ 8; Hawkins 2000: 252-255).[165] While the fragmentary nature of entire corpus of Gurgumean royal funerary statues does not allow confirmation, the uniformity of preserved parts may signify that they all represent the same figure. While it is possible that they depict individual rulers in a standardized form, the emphasis on royal lineage and especially the desire of later kings to connect their reign with that of the dynastic founder Larama I may suggest that the monuments of the kingdom represent Larama himself, thus providing a material focus for a Gurgumean dynastic cult that survived, perhaps, more than two hundred years.

Ancestor worship in the kingdom of Sam'al appears to be different from that of Gurgum. While the first monumental evidence from Zincirli suggests some sort of ancestor worship predated the urbanization and more expansive monumentalization of the site at the hands of

[165] Sargon II refers to Gurgum, in one instance, as 'the land of Bit-Pa'alla', seeming to refer to the Assyrian form of Laramas (=Palalam), founder of the kingdom and dynasty, and implying that this knowledge was significant enough to be known by Assyrian king more than two centuries after Gurgum's foundation.

Kulamuwa, it is not until the reign of that king that we have textual sources to identify what that cult might have looked like. In his inscription, Kulamuwa recounts three generations of rulers before him, as well as a brother who preceded his rule, but not for the sake of veneration; rather, he diminishes their rule in order to exclaim his own successes (KAI 24). And while the Assyrian king Šalmaneser III referred to the kingdom as Bit-Gabbari, the apparent founder of the dynasty and the first-generation ruler mentioned by Kulamuwa, no Sam'alian king used that name for the polity, diminishing the importance of the founder imposed by the Assyrian reference. The statue of a royal figure from Zincirli, dated to the late 10th to early 9th century BCE, is very probably a funerary monument for Gabbar or perhaps Hayya, but as it is not inscribed, this remains speculation. The 8th century BCE, however, provides some clarity regarding local cult practices as they pertain to ancestor veneration. The statues of for Panamuwa I and II appear to take a similar form, were created by the successor of the deceased, or perhaps the deceased before death in the first case, and were likely both erected at a royal necropolis in conjunction with the temple of the Storm God at Gerçin (KAI 214-215). Both statues suggest a commemoration of a single generation, memorializing the last king with only a genealogical reference to his father before him. It may be the case that each king received a similar statue, perhaps a direct representation of him, which by the 8th century BCE, were placed together at the sacred space atop Gerçin Höyük, rather than in the capital of the kingdom. At the very least, it is apparent that Sam'alian royalty did not participate in a dynastic cult that worshipped the founder of the kingdom or household, but rather only their immediate predecessors.

The kingdom of Palastina likewise demonstrates significant royal ancestor worship, even extending beyond the lineage of kings to include at least one important queen or perhaps queen-

mother of the kingdom. In fact, the funerary stele of Kupapiya proclaims that it was set up by, and in turn protects, her descendants as many as five generations removed (SHEIZAR; Hawkins 2000: 416-419). While this could very well be hyperbole, the emphasis on extensive lineage is significant and may indicate that this woman was the wife of Taita I, founder of the kingdom, rather than Taita II, who is commemorated in the contemporaneous funerary stele found nearby. And while the only name included in the extremely fragmentary inscription connected to the colossal figure from Tell Tayinat is Halparuntiya (TELL TAYINAT 1; Hawkins 2000: 265-267), it is possible that it represents the founder of the dynasty, Taita I. However, the later monuments of the kingdom only ever recall a single generation before the current king, making the practice of any dynastic cult somewhat unlikely.[166]

The kingdom of Hiyawa has been the focus of much research related to a dynasty of the seer Mopsos from Greek legend, who is said to have migrated along the southern coast of Anatolia, leaving a number of settlements along the way, including one by the name of Mopsuhestia, or 'house of Mopsos'.[167] Besides this later evidence, the inscriptions of two rulers of Hiyawa refer to an ancestor by the same name. Awarika claimed that he was a descendant of Mopsos (or Muksas in Luwian) and that he was the king of the house, or dynasty, of Mopsos (CİNEKÖY, İNCİRLİ; Tekoğlu et al. 2001; Kaufmann 2007). In comparison with the Aramaic *Bit*-X formula (Leonard-Fleckman 2018), it seems probable that Mopsos was the founder of the polity and the 8th century BCE dynasty of Hiyawa. Azatiwada claimed to have brought frontier regions occupied by dissidents under his control and under the rule of the house of Mopsos; later

[166] Unless, of course, the Lady of Tayinat statue actually represents Kupapiya or some other royal figure, rather than Kubaba, as suggested by current research of the Tayinat Archaeological Project team (Stephen Batiuk, pers. comm. 2022).
[167] E.g., Jasink and Marino (2008); Oettinger (2008); Gander (2012); Yakubovich (2015); Bryce (2016).

in the same inscription, he wished for the peoples that live in his city to be many, great, and productive, and most importantly to be in service to him and the house of Mopsos (KARATEPE 1; Younger 1998; Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000: 45-68). While Azatiwada never claimed to be a descendant of the dynast or even a king of the same dynasty, his positive association with the house of Mopsos implies a continued importance of the dynasty and its founder. And while I have argued elsewhere (Lovejoy 2022) that the statues of Çineköy and Karatepe represent the images of Awarika's and Azatiwada's kingship along with the Storm God, it is at least speculatively possible that they represent the dynastic founder, Mopsos, as well as the Storm God, simply realized differently by the two different rulers of Hiyawa in their monumentalization of this purported founder's cult. The significance of descent is also magnified in Awarika's border stele from İncirli in which the king describes the peoples of the land as descendants of at least three groups, including those from Hatti (presumably the Syro-Anatolian region) and all the lands of Assyria. With the limited corpus of monuments in the kingdom with apparently cultic functions, or texts with cultic content, a dynastic cult cannot be confidently identified; however, the importance of the dynastic founder, as well as later descendants, and the persistence of the concept of a 'house of Mopsos' throughout the period and beyond provides at least some evidence for ancestor worship that may indicate a dynastic cult. The statues created by Awarika and Azatiwada, representing the Storm God, each king, or the institution of Hiyawan kingship rooted in the dynasty of Mopsos, may have served as the material focus for this cult during the reigns of those kings.

In each micro-region, the royal funerary monuments created by various kings of the local polities represent distinct traditions of ancestor veneration that were institutionalized throughout

the Iron Age. In particular, a shared tradition of representing deceased rulers through monumental statues and depicted in a long robe is evident throughout the Core Region as a 'global' practice; conversely, only select rulers of Gurgum were represented on stelae and funerary representations of Sam'alian rulers can also be found on relief orthostats.[168] Even more significant than monumental form when considering distinct micro-regional royal funerary cults are the differences in importance given to royal genealogies, as each polity recounted their lineage to a different depth and by a different means. The kings of Palastina mostly only referred to their immediate predecessors, with the exception of Queen(?) Kupapiya, which invoked several ambiguous generations; the veneration of a royal woman, regardless of title, is also peculiar to the northern Levant and is unseen in the other micro-regions. In Gurgum, royal genealogy is evidently incredibly important, as most inscriptions recount at least three generations and as many as seven. Further south in the Bend, the kings of Sam'al employ a different strategy: while Kulamuwa refers to several generations before him and connects himself directly to the founder of his kingdom, Bar-Rākib refers primarily only to his father with a single reference to a palace of Kulamuwa, suggesting a change in genealogical concerns and likely different priorities of ancestor veneration. Lastly, the rulers of Hiyawa appear mostly concerned with their connection to their dynastic founder, Mopsos, perhaps indicating that there was a dynastic or founder's cult within the polity. In sum, while the micro-regions of the northeast Mediterranean appear to have participated in shared institutions of monumental representation for the purpose of ancestor veneration, the specific genealogical concerns of each

[168] If Azatiwada of Hiyawa was, in fact, a king, the representation of a mortuary repast and funerary procession upon the relief orthostats in the South Gate of Karatepe would indicate that Hiyawan kings could also be venerated in this manner; however, Azatiwada never gives himself such a royal title, and is typically referred to as a local 'ruler'. See also Section 5.4.3.2.

polity represent substantial local variations that emerged through the glocalization of cult. This process certainly helped to define particular royal, political identities (see Section 4.5), or perhaps even community identities of the local elites if the specific ancestral concerns were shared beyond the royal family.

5.4.3.2 Private and Non-Royal Cultic Institutions of Ancestor Veneration

Sculptural monuments created by elite members of society living within the Core Region, but not directly associated with royal families, are mostly known from the region of the Bend, however, small sums of evidence from the northern Levant and Cilicia help to illustrate the varied funerary traditions of the three micro-regions. By way of defining the non-royal cultic institutions associated with ancestor veneration, this section will contrast the privately created elite funerary of each micro-region with their non-private and royal counterparts. It will become clear that not only did each micro-region adopt and adhere to distinct institutions of monumentalizing and memorializing the deceased, but also that these elite communities distinguished their own funerary monuments from those of their royal families.

In the northern Levant, the earliest known Iron Age funerary monuments come from the rulers of Palastina in the 10th to early 9th century stelae of Taita (II) and Kupapiya (SHEIZAR and MEHARDE; Hawkins 2000: 415-419), as well as the statue of Halparuntiya I (or maybe a predecessor?) (TELL TAYINAT 1; Hawkins 2000: 365-367), and the slightly later (mid-9th century) statues of Suppiluliuma (II) and an unknown queen – possibly Kupapiya once again (TELL TAYINAT 4; Lady of Tayinat statue; Denel and Harrison 2018; Harrison et al. 2018). The statues in particular begin to illuminate a common tradition within the micro-region, especially once considered alongside the 9th century statues from Taftanaz, just north of Tell Afis

(Fig. 60). Those include two standing statues (Bonatz 2000: A 9 and A 10) and two seated statues (Bonatz 2000: B 1 and B 10), all of which illustrate figures in long robes and holding cups in their right hands; the standing figures also hold curved rods or staves in their left hands. The same implements are not preserved in any of the statues from Tell Tayinat, but none of those are fully preserved; only the statue of Suppiluliuma still has its hands, but those hold a blade and what appears to be a stalk of grain or a feather (Fig. 42a). In any case, the iconography associated with the royal house may have differed from that utilized by the broader elite community, but the form of their monuments adhered to a common tradition.

Thus, while the royal funerary stelae of Taita and Kupapiya reflect an early tradition employed by Palastinean royalty, the array of statues from Tell Tayinat and Taftanaz appear to represent a funerary tradition institutionalized within the micro-region by the broader elite community.[169] This tradition may have extended into the 8th century, as is suggested by the Kırçoğlu statue (Hawkins 2000: 383-384), however, the paucity of evidence suggests that it may have declined along with the kingdom of Palastina/Patina/Unqi. During this later period (i.e., the 8th century BCE), at least around Aleppo, the elite community adopted the tradition most commonly seen in the Bend and created funerary stelae that depicted the deceased sitting before a table piled high with dishes – a mortuary repast – and holding a cup in a raised hand (Figs. 61 and 62; Bonatz 2000: C 14, C 15, C 35, C 40, C 48).[170] The consistent presence of this held cup – a feature with greater variability in the Bend – may continue the tradition observed at Taftanaz

[169] This (or a similar) funerary cultic institution appears to have existed at 9th century Tell Halaf, as well, as indicated by statues in the same model as those of Taftanaz (Bonatz 2000: B 4, B 5; Bonatz 2016: 176-179).
[170] A similar scene depicting a mortuary repast has been identified on an engraved, black stone pyxis found at the entrance of the temple Building XVI at Tell Tayinat (Harrison and Osborne 2012: 135). The mobile quality of the object challenges any association of the production of the motif with Tell Tayinat; however, its discovery in such a prominent cultic space suggests some form of participation in the funerary cultic traditions central to the Bend.

with the statues that also held cups in every preserved example.[171] The actual cups on the 9th century BCE statues from Taftanaz may have been used for libations to the deceased in a ritualized mortuary celebration in much the same way as was depicted in the stelae from around Aleppo during the 8th century BCE. Together, this evidence appears to represent a distinct cultic institution of ancestor veneration within the elite communities of the northern Levant.[172]

The royal funerary monuments of the kingdoms of the Bend can be distinguished between the two polities. In Gurgum, the 10th century stele of Larama I (MARAŞ 8; Hawkins 2000: 252-255; Bonatz 2000: C 1) and the mid-9th century squared columnar statue of Halparuntiya (MARAŞ 4; Hawkins 2000: 255-258; Bonatz 2000: A 2) provide a common image of the deceased ruler in a long robe and holding a short staff (Figs. 16 and 18; this iconography, as well as the squared columnar form of the latter statue, is shared by the statues of a Gurgumean official, Astiwasus (MARAŞ 14; Hawkins 2000: 265-267), and two unknown figures (MARAŞ 13; Hawkins 2000: 276-277; Bonatz 2000: A 11), probably also officials associated with the royal court, if the iconography and form is an indicator (Figs. 20, 77, and 78). The royal funerary monuments of Sam'al, on the other hand, include the late 10th to early 9th century columnar statue of an unknown ruler standing upon a double lion base bearing cup-marks (Bonatz 2000: A 6), the 9th century relief orthostat of Kulamuwa (KAI 24), the 8th century columnar statues of Hadad-Panamuwa I and Panamuwa II (KAI 214-215), and the late 8th century relief orthostats of Bar-Rākib (KAI 216-217); together, these monuments reflect a common funerary tradition of depicting deceased rulers in long robes – much like the tradition in Gurgum and even holding a

[171] The statues from Tell Tayinat are all incomplete, so it is unclear if any followed a similar tradition.
[172] Dominik Bonatz has equated this tradition of ritually feeding the deceased through a mortuary repast with the Syro-Mesopotamian *kispum* ritual (Bonatz 2016: 184 with references therein).

staff in the same position in the earliest exemplar – whether in the form of a statue or a relief, and consistently holding a flower, often clearly a lotus, and situated beneath divine symbols in relief representations.[173]

In contrast to the royal monuments of the region, which demonstrate distinct, if overlapping traditions in the polities of Gurgum and Sam'al, the private funerary monuments from the Bend illustrate a single, widespread, institutionalized tradition of depicting deceased members of elite communities on stelae, most often wearing long robes, and standing or seated before a small table piled high with dishes representing a mortuary repast. Indeed, this tradition appears to have been established in the regions controlled by both polities already in the 10th to early 9th century BCE, though the region around Gurgum (Figs. 73 and 74; Bonatz 2000: C 33 [MARAŞ 2; Hawkins 2000: 273-274], C 27 [MARAŞ 12; Hawkins 2000: 275], C 54, C 55, C 64) has produced abundantly more early examples than that of Sam'al (Fig. 76; Bonatz 2000: C 32 [KARABURÇLU; Hawkins 2000: 276]). In these examples, men are consistently dressed in long robes, either holding a staff and a cup or a bow and arrows or, in one case, a bird; women wear squared headdresses covered by a shawl over a long robe and hold a combination of a pomegranate, a cup, a mirror, or, in one case, a bird. Through the 9th and 8th century, additional iconographs became common, with stalks of grain and bunches of grapes (sometimes held together in the same hand) and writing implements, such as a stylus, a tablet, or a diptych, being added to the common repertoire for men, and spindles and poppy plants joining the implements held by women; attendants were also represented upon funerary stelae during this period, often

[173] It is possible that the columnar statues also head flowers, but their hands are all broken off, so this remains speculative.

holding palm fronds, drinking cups, or writing implements. The objects held in the hands of those depicted on these funerary stelae may indicate the status or vocation of the deceased (Bonatz 2000: 76-107), they may symbolize the ritual renewal and regeneration of the mortuary repast (Bonatz 2016: 181), or they may provide some connection with the deities who share this iconography (Matessi and Lovejoy, forthcoming), perhaps visually asserting the proclamations of divine litigation that normally conclude the inscriptions upon royal funerary monuments (Fig. 81).

Restricted to the region under the control of Sam'al is a final object held by the deceased in such stelae: the (lotus) flower (Fig. 48). The 9th century relief of Kulamuwa is the first clear instance of this symbol in the region, but parallels can be found already upon the ca. 1000 BCE sarcophagus of the Byblian ruler Ahiram (Porada 1973; Loon 1986: 245-247; Bonatz 2000: 102-103; Brown 2008b: 239; Gilibert 2011: 82), who is at least connected to the Sam'alian king through the language of their inscriptions (i.e., Phoenician) and perhaps also through a common central Levantine origin (see Section 4.5.3). The motif is then found on several funerary stelae from the region dating between the 9th and 8th centuries (ÖRDEKBURNU; Bonatz 2000: C 72 from Hilani II of Zincirli; Bonatz 2000: C 46 from the area of Palace G of Zincirli; and Bonatz 2000: C 28 from Gözlühöyük), and on the relief orthostats of Bar-Rākib dating to the later 8th century BCE (Figs. 67, 83, 88, and 89).[174] The lotus, thus, represents a local Sam'alian subset of

[174] Two of the reliefs within the 9th to 8th century BCE Assyrian open-air sanctuary of Karabur (Taşyürek 1975: 172-180; Karabur 1 and 2) near Antakya depict deities holding drooping lotus flowers. While these are certainly not funerary monuments, they suggest an alternative interpretation of the symbol, not connected to the afterlife in the Assyrian context, unless it is in the deity's role in connection to a deceased ruler.

the funerary tradition adopted and institutionalized by the elite communities of the Bend as a whole in their efforts to venerate and memorialize their ancestors.

Cilicia has produced the fewest funerary monuments, both royal and non-royal. However, in contrast to the Bend and the northern Levant, the earliest evidence here comes in the form of a private, non-royal stele depicting two male figures, each with an instrument, and one holding a staff; notably, there is no table or dishes to represent a mortuary repast (Fig. 94; Yumurtalık; Bonatz 2000: C 58). This is the only such funerary stele discovered in Cilicia. Dated roughly to the 9th and 8th century, however, is a small plaque found at Tatarlı Höyük representing a mortuary repast before a seated male figure holding a drinking cup and another standing figure, poorly preserved (Fig. 95; Girginer, Oyman-Girginer, and Akıl 2011: 134 fig. 9); it is worth noting, however, that this example could have easily been brought to Cilicia from across the Amanus and hardly serves as a clear illustration of local traditions. Royal funerary monuments provide little other information with only the statues of Çineköy and Karatepe and the reliefs of South Gate at Karatepe standing as further evidence (Tekoğlu et al. 2001; Çambel 1999). The statues themselves are columnar and depict the Hiyawan rulers in long robes, much like those of the northern Levant and the Bend, particularly those of Sam'al (Fig. 49). The relief orthostats from Karatepe, on the other hand, include two illustrations of a mortuary repast and at least one series of scenes representative of a funerary procession connected to this feast (Fig. 96). The royal context of this elaborate funerary ceremony appears to be a unique feature of the Cilician institution of elite ancestor veneration, adopted not only by the non-royal elite community, but also by the Hiyawan ruler himself, at least during the late 8th century. Alternatively, this scene depicted on the relief orthostats of Azatiwada, in conjunction with the lack of royal title in his

inscriptions, may indicate that he was not the ruler of Hiyawa – and did not claim to be so – but was a subordinate official who participated in explicitly non-royal funerary traditions.

The elite communities of the micro-regions of the northeast Mediterranean each produced and participated in distinct institutions of ancestor veneration through the creation of and interaction with funerary monuments. The divergence between these traditions can be understood as a process of glocalization through which each micro-region selected different media, iconography, and practices as a means of adhering to the 'global' institutions of ancestor worship through locally composed funerary cults. The practice of depicting the deceased partaking in a funerary banquet (occurring singularly after death) or a mortuary repast (occurring ritually after burial and funeral) is evident throughout the Bend, in the vicinity of both Maraş and Zincirli, from as early as the late 10th or early 9th century BCE, and the tradition was clearly institutionalized by the middle of the 9th century BCE, demonstrated by the frequency and consistency of the theme. In contrast, the motif is virtually nonexistent outside of the Bend in the remainder of the Core Region, at least until the 8th century. This is not to say that funerary banquets or mortuary repasts were not practiced in Cilicia or the northern Levant, but that they were not monumentally illustrated in the same way, with few exceptions, thus providing southern and western geographical limits to this tradition of representation and the elite community characterized by it. The elite communities of the northern Levant may very well have enacted similar ritualized feasts and celebrations, but likely through interactions with monumental statues, many of which bore cups or cup-marks for libations; only in the 8th century were similar scenes depicting a mortuary repast found in the micro-region, and then only around Aleppo. Cilicia, too, only produced such imagery in the later 8th century, unless a single portable

plaque from the region and dated between the 9th and 8th century can be taken as secure evidence. In each micro-region, this mostly shared, private, non-royal institution of ancestor veneration is contrasted by the varied but overlapping royal traditions of each polity.

5.5 Conclusions

The elite communities of the northeast Mediterranean produced an evolving and incredibly diverse cultic landscape throughout the Iron Age. Sacred spaces, like temples, sanctuaries, and shrines provided these communities with permanent venues for the worship of various deities and housed the major cultic institutions of the time. They also provide us with evidence for the perseverance or disruption of particular cults, as well as processes of local innovation and episodes of cultural interactions with the wider eastern Mediterranean and ancient west Asian worlds. Similarly, the sculptural and inscribed monuments from the micro-regions of the northern Levant, the Bend, and Cilicia served as foci for cult practices and actively participated in ritual performances, both in the worship of deities and in the veneration of the deceased. These monuments allow us to interpret the specific characteristics of deities through the lens of local elite communities and to understand the priorities of local cultic institutions in each micro-region. Together, this evidence illustrates the developmental trajectory of specific cults, the significance of shared cult practices and deviating traditions, and various conceptualizations of certain deities within similar cultic institutions in local communities. The cultic institutions produced and adhered to by the elite communities of the Core Region illustrate the diverse cultic landscape of the region as it changed throughout the Iron Age, representing a multitude of local identities constructed around shared beliefs and practices of divine worship and ancestor veneration.

The architectural remains of cultic institutions serve as reflections of the communities that interacted with them and illustrate a developing cultic landscape with distinct trajectories in each micro-region, despite their having experienced many of the same sociopolitical changes in the Early and later Middle Iron Ages. In the northern Levant, in particular, a continuity of major cultic institutions survived the collapse of the Late Bronze Age polities through the resilience and foundation of temples at Aleppo, ʻayn Dara, and Tell Afis during the Early Iron Age, perhaps providing the opportunity for new polities and elite communities to emerge and thrive, as in the case of Palastina. Conversely, Cilicia and the Bend remained voids of major cultic institutions until the Middle Iron Age with the emergence of Gurgum, Sam'al, and Hiyawa, each with their own distinct cultic institutions. This latter period also featured a diversification of cultic institutions embodied in the sacred spaces of the northern Levant bearing local, Phoenician, and Assyrian cultural influences and indicated by a greater plurality of deities to whom sacred spaces were dedicated. This diversity in the cultic landscape of the Core Region reflects the shifting sociopolitical dynamics between and within each micro-region, as well as burgeoning interregional interactions with the eastern Mediterranean and wider ancient west Asian worlds.

Sculptural monuments from the Core Region mostly support this assessment with the addition of greater details pertaining to specific conceptualizations of and interactions with particular deities, traditions associated with individual cults, and the communities who participated in local cultic institutions of each micro-region. The cultic monuments of the northern Levant illustrate a continuity in the cult of the Storm God in the relief orthostats and portal guardians of the temples of Aleppo and ʻayn Dara, and they attest to the development of a

'proto-Storm God of the Vineyard' around the 10th to early 9th century in the stelae from Arsuz, all indicative of the perseverance and evolution of local northern Levantine cultic institutions following the collapse of Ugarit and the Hittite empire. In the subsequent centuries, the monuments produced in the micro-region demonstrate the emergence of new deities reflective of interactions with other elite communities from the wider region, providing support for the interpretation of a diversification of the cultic landscape provided by the analysis of sacred spaces.

Monumental sculptures from the Bend emerge in the 10th century with columnar statues and stelae dedicated to a common institution of ancestor veneration across the micro-region, which persists among local elite communities through the 8th century BCE. In contrast, the particular cults and deities invoked in the inscribed and figural monuments of the region are primarily divided by their polity, with traditionally Anatolian deities like the Storm God Tarhunza worshiped in Gurgum and Syro-Levantine deities like Ba'al, Hadad, and the local dynastic god Rākib-El worshiped in Sam'al. Cultic inscriptions and divine representations provide cultural amalgams combining Anatolian, Syro-Levantine, Assyrian, and even Egyptian influences all within close proximity and especially during the 8th century, attesting to the micro-region serving as a nexus for diverse cult practices, institutions, and elite communities.

Lastly, Cilicia only produced sculptural monumental evidence for cultic institutions and their communities of practice during the 9th and 8th centuries. While limited, this evidence demonstrates the resilience of local Anatolian traditions in the 9th century and significant innovations and discontinuities in the 8th century with the rise of Hiyawa. The apparent political growth of the kingdom coincided with the development of the Storm God of the Vineyard, the

abandonment of the cult of Kubaba, and an increased diversity of cultic motifs in relief depictions, altogether illustrating a complex cultic landscape of the micro-region during the Middle Iron Age.

Throughout the periods of Early Iron Age continuity and Middle Iron Age diversification within the cultic landscape of the northeast Mediterranean, certain cults survived, changed, and thrived in ways that illustrate the developing cultic communities who participated in major private and non-private institutions connected with the veneration of ancestors and deities, respectively. The cult of the Storm God, in particular, persisted at the most prominent throughout the Core Region from the Late Bronze Age through the Iron Age. The specific hypostasis of the Celestial Storm God acted in the northern Levant and Cilicia as divine legitimator of mortal kingship, demonstrating substantial continuity throughout the period under investigation. The Storm God of the Vineyard, on the other hand, illustrates a local innovation with its roots in the northern Levant and central Anatolia; its developmental trajectory appears to have resulted in a Storm God with subordinate Grain- and Wine-gods in the rump-states of the Hittite empire and survived within the Middle Iron Age kingdoms, before coalescing into the Storm God with his unique epithet 'of the Vineyard' within the Core region and with micro-regional variations in the institutions pertaining to his worship.

A collection of Divine Ladies including Kubaba, the Divine Queen of the Land, and Ba'alat – and their many local hypostases – provide alternative insights into the local results of a shared conceptualization of divinity and cultic institutions by the elite communities of the Core Region. These local goddesses served either as tutelary deities protecting urban centers and local institutions of kingship, especially evident in most cults of Kubaba and Ba'alat/Pahalat, or as

chthonic deities concerned with the afterlife of elite patrons, as is the case with Kubaba of Aram and the Divine Queen of the Land. This apparent functional dichotomy may actually represent a continuum along which the Divine Ladies with onomastic and iconographic commonalities acted in support of the elite communities who selectively produced and adhered to particular aspects of her cultic institutions.

Finally, cultic institutions of elite ancestor veneration involving the production of and interaction with funerary monuments emerged in the communities of each micro-region; these are differentiated by their royal and non-private or non-royal and private qualities. Non-private institutions of ancestor veneration primarily concern the memorialization of deceased royal figures through the preservation of genealogies, the invocation of dynastic founders, and the ritual celebration of royal predecessors in the form of funerary feast and mortuary repasts. These mortuary repasts are also the most consistent feature of private, non-royal institutions of ancestor veneration within the Core Region, especially evident in the micro-region of the Bend. In both cases, however, distinct traditions are apparent in each micro-region illustrating the diverse elite communities that comprised the complex cultic landscape of the northeast Mediterranean during the Iron Age.

6. Conclusions

The cultural landscapes of the Core Region were produced as a result of the myriad choices made by individuals and communities of the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean. The decisions to adhere to and participate in preexisting or novel political and cultic institutions led to the making of new identities and formed the binding force for many communities. These communities often extended across political and geographical boundaries and overlapped with each other to various extents, frequently producing intersectional identities that both connected distant groups and encouraged certain internal divisions. While certain characteristics of these landscapes were shared across the whole region, local responses to global phenomena resulted in unique developments of institutional change through a process of glocalization. This, in turn, produced the incredibly diverse and variegated cultural landscapes of a central part of the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean that are evident from this work.

6.1 Political Landscapes of the Iron Age Northeast Mediterranean

The political landscape of the Iron Age northeast Mediterranean was diverse and complex, shaped by the political communities and rulers of its component micro-regions, and marked by archaeological and historical indices of political beliefs and choices expressed by them. This landscape, situated in time between two empires – the Late Bronze Age Hittites and the Middle Iron Age Neo-Assyrians – who in large part unified the region under their respective authorities, is representative of a process of glocalization through which individual political communities responded differently in local contexts to the global trends that characterized the wider region throughout the Iron Age.

With the decline of Hittite and Ugaritic authority at the end of the Late Bronze Age came a vacuum of political institutions within the northeast Mediterranean that lasted for much of the Early Iron Age. Evidence for the reemergence of local central authorities exists in Cilicia during the 12th century at Sirkeli Höyük and in the northern Levant during the 11th century at the temples of Aleppo and ‘ayn Dara, but only in the inscriptions from Aleppo do we find a new political institution, namely the kingship of Palastina.

Palastinean political institutions became even more evident with the production of monumental structures and sculptures that coincided with and proceeded from the monumentalization and urbanization of Tell Tayinat, the capital of the kingdom, during the 10th century BCE. The local institution of kingship was characterized by several distinct features, including a tradition of monolingual Hieroglyphic Luwian royal inscriptions, the adoption by several rulers of Hittite royal names, a standard of royal representation without headwear (at least after the 11th century), and divine legitimacy. It may also have included an important role for female counterparts to the Palastinean rulers. Altogether, the evidence illustrates a local reinterpretation of Hittite imperial traditions within the Iron Age political landscape of the northern Levant.

Elsewhere in the Core Region, institutions of rule only become evident around the 10th or 9th centuries, with the kingdoms of Gurgum, Yadiya/Sam’al, and Hiyawa emerging during the Middle Iron Age. No clearly Gurgumean monumental architecture has been excavated, but sculptural and epigraphic evidence illustrates the development of a local Anatolian institution of rule over the course of the 10th to 8th centuries. The institution of Gurgumean kingship featured a

tradition of monolingual Hieroglyphic Luwian royal inscriptions, Anatolian royal names, a staff held by rulers in royal representations, and patrilineal legitimacy.

Quite distinct were the institutions of Sam'alian rule that emerged with the foundation and monumentalization of the capital at Zincirli in the late 10th to early 9th century BCE and developed through the following century demonstrating an amalgamation of Luwian, Aramaic, and Phoenician cultural elements, particularly notable in the linguistic diversity represented by the scripts and languages used in royal inscriptions, as well as the roughly alternating Anatolian and Semitic royal names used by Sam'alian kings. Beyond linguistic flexibility and plurality, the institution of Sam'alian kingship was characterized by a tradition of royal representation in which the king held a lotus on orthostat reliefs (and perhaps also in statues), which served to distinguish their image of kingship from those of neighboring rulers, as well as an understanding of divine legitimacy. Uniquely, kings of Sam'al benefited from a dynastic god, Rākib-El, in addition to the more commonly invoked Storm God in matters of royal legitimacy.

Lastly, no certain evidence of a Hiyawan polity exists until the late 10th to early 9th century stelae from Arsuz, and emic sources are only preserved from the 9th and mostly 8th centuries BCE; while quite limited, these sources represent a political elite that was apparently integrated within both Phoenician and Syro-Anatolian cultural networks but produced their own local political institutions. The institution of Hiyawan kingship was characterized by multilingualism demonstrated by bi- and trilingual royal inscriptions, a tradition of monumental representation bearing ambiguity in royal and divine features, and divine legitimacy derived from the Storm Gods Ba'al and Tarhunza, perhaps of the Vineyard.

6.2 Cultic Landscapes of the Iron Age Northeast Mediterranean

During the Late Bronze Age, the northern Levant and Cilicia were home to several major cultic institutions, mostly under the control of Hittite appointed officials. With the demise of the empire, control of these institutions ceded to local authorities, and their responses to such major changes within the cultic landscape of each micro-region were unique, as is clear from the resultant situation in the Early Iron Age and thereafter. While all of the shrines, sanctuaries, and temples of Late Bronze Age Cilicia ceased to function and were mostly abandoned, replaced, or repurposed in the subsequent centuries, the northern Levantine cultic landscape was more variegated. The temples of Ugarit were abandoned along with the city itself and never reoccupied, but the temples of Aleppo and ʻayn Dara survived the transition to the Early Iron Age, eventually falling under new management with the rise of Palastina, and the temple at Alalakh appears to have persisted briefly into the Early Iron Age with the urban space around it serving the shrinking population of the site until its eventual abandonment and probable transposition to Tell Tayinat or thereabouts. A new temple was even constructed at Tell Afis, not far to the south, demonstrating the prolific activities of the thriving cultic communities of the region following the political collapse of the major Late Bronze Age powers. Considering the northern Levantine evidence alongside that of the other Early Iron Age polities of the Syro-Anatolian region, it seems likely that this cultic resilience was a product of profitable interactions between Palastina and the kingdom of Malizi on the Upper Euphrates, both in material exchange and in networks of specialized cultic and artistic knowledge. The survival and continued success of cultic institutions within the northern Levant is particularly notable in contrast to the situations in Cilicia and the Bend, where the cultic landscapes appear as voids until well into the Middle Iron Age.

Between the 10th and 8th centuries, the cultic landscape of the northern Levant became increasingly diverse. The Storm God remained the most prominent deity in sculptural and epigraphic sources throughout the period, found particularly in his Celestial role acting in support of the kings of both Palastina and later Hamath and Lu'aš, but many other deities were given substantial cult spaces across the region, including gods characteristically worshiped in Mesopotamia who received temples at Tell Tayinat and an open-air sanctuary at Karabur, and apparently at least one from the Cypro-Phoenician milieu with a temple at Tell Tweini. And while there is no evidence for a sacred space to the goddesses, the northern Levant was also home to cults of Kubaba and the Divine Queen of the Land during this period, with the latter appearing to be directly connected with the royal funerary cult of Palastina. A separate but related elite, probably non-royal, funerary cult appears to have existed at Taftanaz, not far from Tell Afis, which appears to have included libations to the deceased, perhaps in the same vein as the mortuary repasts found most commonly in the Bend. The increase in number and variety of cultic institutions within the micro-region suggests a similar diversification within the cultic communities of the northern Levant throughout the Middle Iron Age.

The cultic landscape of the Bend only comes into focus following the foundation of Zincirli Höyük. Within the Sam'alian capital, there was almost certainly a space for the worship of the divine, but only evidence for royal ancestor veneration has been located within the citadel itself. Monumental statues discovered at Gerçin Höyük and Tahtalı Pınar may indicate a royal necropolis at the former site providing additional support for the interpretation of a royal ancestor cult, but also illustrating the prominence of the Storm God in the region and perhaps suggesting that a temple to the deity existed nearby. Similar evidence of ancestor veneration and

indeed of an elite, non-royal funerary cult has been identified in the shrine of KTMW located within the lower town of the Zincirli, an institution that is well represented by funerary monuments from across the Bend, especially from the area around Maraş. The KTMW stele also provides the lone explicit evidence for the cult of Hadad of the Vineyard and the only attestation of the epithet from the Bend. It is, however, also possible that the statue of Hadad commissioned by Panamuwa I represented the same hypostasis of the Storm God, perhaps signified by the unfortunately lost divine implements, which could have allowed for the interpretation of the deity in his generic label as Hadad in the associated inscription. The only well-identified temple from the Bend is both late, dating to the late 8th century, and poorly preserved, located outside of the monumental fortifications of Zincirli Höyük and possibly attributed to the Assyrian occupation of the site. While the funerary cults of the Bend appear to be the most characteristic feature of the micro-region's cultic landscape, another peculiarity comes in the importance given to the Sam'alian dynastic god Rākib-El and in the largely Levantine character of the kingdom's pantheon in general, which contrasts with most of the other panthea of the polities in the Core Region. Likewise, the Bend is the only micro-region to bear evidence for a cult to Kubaba of Aram, a uniquely chthonic hypostasis of the goddess, and the funerary monuments from the region illustrate that her iconography was adopted for representations of elite women entering the afterlife suggesting that this role was integral to conceptions of the deity throughout the Bend as a whole, quite distinct from the situation elsewhere in the Core Region.

Cultic institutions of Iron Age Cilicia are difficult to identify archaeologically since no temples or other cultic architecture have been confidently identified within the region, though a shrine has been tentatively suggested at Karatepe based on the presence of a statue that

ambiguously represents the Storm God Ba'al and the Hiyawan ruler Azatiwada, seemingly a feature of the royal funerary cult of the kingdom. In fact, the bulk of the evidence for Cilician cultic institutions comes from sculptural and epigraphic sources discovered at Karatepe and the neighboring site Domuztepe, with only scattered and limited evidence of a similar type coming from elsewhere in the region and almost all of it produced by the rulers of Hiyawa. The cult of the Storm God was most prominent in Cilicia, as elsewhere, but uniquely there the preeminent god was qualified by Celestial epithets in contemporaneous attestations as both Ba'al and Tarhunza, and he also appears to be represented in his role as Storm God of the Vineyard upon the statue from Çineköy and was possibly identified as such in the Phoenician inscription from Karatepe. Unique to Cilicia is also an apparent rejection of the goddess Kubaba that coincided with the rise of Hiyawa. From the evidence that exists, it can be surmised that the Cilician cultic landscape of the 8th century comprised a diverse amalgamation of Levantine, perhaps Cypro-Phoenician, and Syro-Anatolian traditions, seemingly illustrating a correspondingly diverse cultic community who produced and adhered to a unique set of cultic institutions within the micro-region.

6.3 Relation or Separation of "Church" and State and the Making of Identities

The collapse of the Late Bronze Age sociopolitical systems around the eastern Mediterranean is well known, so it is unsurprising to find a void of political institutions within the Core Region to begin the Iron Age and only isolated instances of rising central authorities until well into the Middle Iron Age for most of the macro-region. However, what was less predictable but made clear through this analysis was the resilience demonstrated by major cultic institutions in the northern Levant. This is doubly significant when considering the early rise to

power of Palastina in a macro-regional political landscape only shared by the other Hittite rump-states to the north, Malizi and Karkemiš. While the elite communities of Cilicia and the Bend appear to have lived in relative obscurity with largely local interests throughout the Early Iron Age, the early Palastinean kings sought to establish their rule and extend their influence and control over much of the Core Region by inserting themselves into long-standing super-regional cultic institutions. Indeed, it could be argued that the survival of these institutions provided the foundation upon which local northern Levantine elite communities built their kingdom. They constructed their political identities around their connection with the temples and their gods, and even established their institution of kingship around the legitimating force of the Storm God and their control of his temple at Aleppo.

The other polities of the Core Region developed different degrees of interconnection between their political and cultic institutions over the course of the Middle Iron Age, but one particular tradition emerged in the 8th century, shared at least by Cilicia and the Bend, in which rulers chose to construct their statues with an intentional ambiguity of royal and divine qualities, resulting in an identity quite distinct from those expressed by neighboring rulers. In each case, kings of Hiyawa and Sam'al produced statues of the Storm God in what was customarily royal attire and inscribed with commemorative texts in the first person, declaring "I am…" this king or another. While this direct connection between Storm God and ruler appears to be a defining characteristic of the institutions of local kingship and a feature used in the making of individual political identities, it may also be a result of a king's death as he himself became a god.[175] This

[175] Compare with the Hittite phrase DINGIR^{LIM}-*iš kiš*- ("to become a god"), which was used by kings to define their death during the Late Bronze Age. While there is too long of a hiatus to argue for a continuity of this tradition, it remains possible that a similar cultural understanding survived throughout the Iron Age in the Core Region.

last appears to be the case at least for Panamuwa I of Yadiya, who sought to bind his spirit and memory to the god through his statue of Hadad, and may certainly be the case for Panamuwa II, and probably also for Awarika and Azatiwada of Hiyawa. That this tradition is shared between the two polities that bear a strong connection to the central Levantine world through their use of the Phoenician script and language, as well as certain iconography, may be the result of a shared cultural understanding and perhaps a common origin and shared aspects of identity for a substantial component of the elite communities. In any case, the political institutions of kingship for both polities were deeply interconnected with their cultic institutions, both those centered around the cult of the Storm God and those connected to the royal ancestor cults in each micro-region, and it is these connections which provided the basis for the intersectional identities of their local communities.

Quite distinctly, it appears that Gurgumean kings kept their political and cultic institutions quite separate. Their kingship was typically not legitimated by divine support like in Palastina (or the other kingdoms in the Core Region, for that matter), and, while the incomplete preservation of royal statues makes it impossible to be certain, there is no evidence for an ambiguity of royal and divine portraiture that is seen in Hiyawa and Sam'al. Gurgum, thus, provides the single instance within the Core Region for the separation of "church" and state – by which I mean cult and kingship – while the rest of the micro-regions intertwined the two in locally specific ways. With this separation came a unique Gurgumean identity whose cultic and political components intersected in a contrastive way, unlike elsewhere in the Core Region, where the two aspects were largely complementary, albeit varied in their local realizations.

6.4 Legacies of the Late Bronze Age: what happened to the people?

The Late Bronze Age local authorities from the region may have lost their seats of power at Ugarit and Alalakh, on the one hand, or their wealth, prominence, and position within regional networks at Sirkeli Höyük and Tarsus, on the other hand, but the important families from these sites, the communities who embodied, adhered to, and produced the previously significant local institutions of the region, they, or at least their descendants, must have gone somewhere during the transition to the Early Iron Age, and the collective evidence from the political and cultic landscapes allows for certain conclusions to be made. First, the fact that no apparent political or cultic institution reemerged in Cilicia following the collapse of Hittite authority in the region until at least the late 10th century BCE suggests that the intervening period was characterized by a fragmentation or dispersal of power among individual settlements, perhaps with leading figures or groups who lacked the authority or wealth to produce monumental structures, sculptures, or inscriptions that would indicate the presence of such an institution. Cilician communities, then, must have shifted to local institutions of rule at the settlements where some central authority is evident, either reverting to pre-Hittite traditions or adapting to the new cultural landscape with novel practices and beliefs.

The situation in the northern Levant is quite different. The continuation or resumption of activity at the interregional cult center of Aleppo during the Early Iron Age illustrates the emergence of both cultic and political institutions within the region during the 11th century BCE. Iconographic evidence from the site demonstrates, at least, an understanding of traditions of royal representation associated with rulership and the gods from Late Bronze Age Hatti and Alalakh, perhaps also indicative of the survival of the local elite community from Tell Atçana, who may have integrated this knowledge within the Early Iron Age Palastinean institution of

kingship. Evidence for the preservation of Ugaritic traditions comes slightly later, in the late 10th to early 9th century, with the invocation of Grain- and Wine-gods subordinate to the Storm God in Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions produced by Palastinean kings from Tell Tayinat, which reflects an adaptation of the Ugaritic mythological tradition of Ba'al and his messengers Gapn and Ugar into the new Iron Age cultural landscapes of the Core Region. It seems unlikely that this process would occur over the intervening centuries without the survival of a significant and knowledgeable component of the Ugaritic cultic community within the emergent communities of the northern Levant that comprised the Palastinean elite during the Iron Age. Similarly, the use of the ideographic spelling of Suppiluliuma's name – both I and II – illustrates a preservation of Hittite imperial knowledge throughout the 10th and 9th centuries BCE, likely indicating the perseverance of descendant families from the previous Hittite elite communities, if not from the royal family itself. Thus, while the character of the Palastinean cultic and political landscapes was unique to the region and novel in many ways, the institutions that define these landscapes bear substantial evidence for the legacy of Late Bronze Age traditions, not only from the Hittite milieu, but also and significantly from Ugarit.

6.5 Iron Age Innovations: communities bound by cults

The emergence of new polities with novel ways of governing their communities provides the most obvious and expected innovations of the Iron Age. New combinations of scripts and languages were used to convey political messaging; changing relationships with neighboring polities provided new ways of defining local institutions of kingship or ways of representing royal figures; and rises and falls in power resulted in new entities taking control of different regions. However, innovations within the cultic landscape are less predictable. They also extend

across political boundaries and illustrate changes within the beliefs of broader communities within the northeast Mediterranean. The cult of the Storm God of the Vineyard, for instance, while grounded in the mythological traditions of Late Bronze Age Hatti and Ugarit, was a novel institution that only crystalized during the 8th century BCE. In fact, the cult developed precisely within the Core Region, building the traditions that would eventually characterize the cult in the northern Levant before solidifying in the Bend and Cilicia, and finally reaching the area best known for its presence in Tuwana. The practice of this new cult became widespread throughout the Core Region, but the specific ways in which different communities invoked and represented the Storm God of the Vineyard resulted from a process of glocalization that produced unique responses to the deity's newfound importance. Similarly, a macro-regionally shared conceptualization of a preeminent Divine Lady represents a 'global' trend of the Iron Age in the Core Region, but locally distinct expressions of this archetype that emerged across the entire northeast Mediterranean demonstrate the choices of local communities to define their cultic institutions in ways that distinguished them from their neighbors, whether in the name that they used for their Divine Lady or in her primary duties. Lastly, the invention of a micro-regionally defined elite funerary cult characterized by a mortuary repast and its representation especially on stelae provided a novel institution that bound an elite community across the political boundaries of Gurgum and Sam'al within the Bend and even extended into Cilicia and the northern Levant in isolated instances.

In all, while the political landscape of the northeast Mediterranean was largely fragmented along political lines, at least after the Early Iron Age, the cultic landscape appears to

have provided a binding force that allowed communities to connect over vast distances and across political boundaries.

6.6 A Contribution to the Histories of the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Asia

The Syro-Anatolian region is often investigated as a periphery of western Asia or the Mediterranean world. This is even more so the case with the Core Region positioned on the northeast Mediterranean coast, providing an important borderland between these worlds. Not only is the region a geographical nexus, but also one of diverse communities. Frequent and varied interactions between individuals and groups with distinct cultural backgrounds resulted in a complex landscape of cosmopolitan communities characterized by an array of intersectional identities made through processes of institutional change and glocalization. This fact alone justifies a micro-historical study of the Core Region during the Iron Age, when the space was mostly not under the direct influence of external powers and when population mobility at various scales was similarly decentralized, both of which encouraged the autonomous development of its diverse cultural landscapes. However, integrating this contribution into the macro-histories of the western Asian and eastern Mediterranean worlds helps to improve our understanding of this period of the ancient world in a broader scope. Indeed, this study of the communities, polities, and cults of the northeast Mediterranean will allow researchers of the surrounding macro-regions to reflect upon interactions with the Core Region not as a superficially understood periphery but as a primary actor with its own unique contributions and influences upon other local processes and trajectories of cultural development.

This study's focus on communities whose identities were centered around their political and cultic institutions could be applied elsewhere within the wider region to provide comparable

and fruitful results. Already, the complexion of community identities in the various micro-regions of the northeast Mediterranean provides small insights into the institutions and identities of neighboring regions whose communities interacted with those of the Core Region. The central Levantine influence upon the Bend and Cilicia, in particular, is abundantly evident, and a comparison with the region's own processes of identity making and institutional change would benefit the study of both regions. Likewise, the evidence of Cypro-Aegean involvement in the Core Region suggests that an investigation of the communities of Cyprus, and perhaps other places to the west, could reveal reciprocal influence from the communities of the northeast Mediterranean upon local institutions and group identities. Lastly, an expansion of the study to the other Syro-Anatolian communities both north and west would provide a similarly fine-grained and diachronic analysis of local processes to complement Osborne's (2021) synchronic depiction of the region.

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Figure 1: Map of the northeast Mediterranean with the Core Region of the project circled. (map by author)

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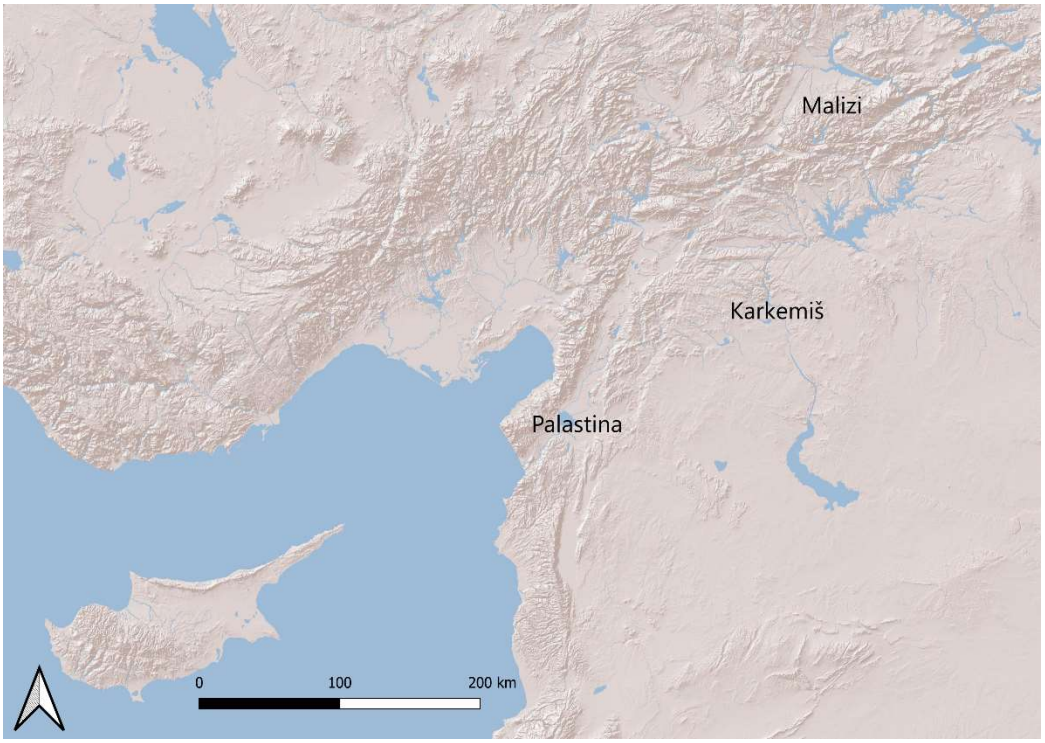

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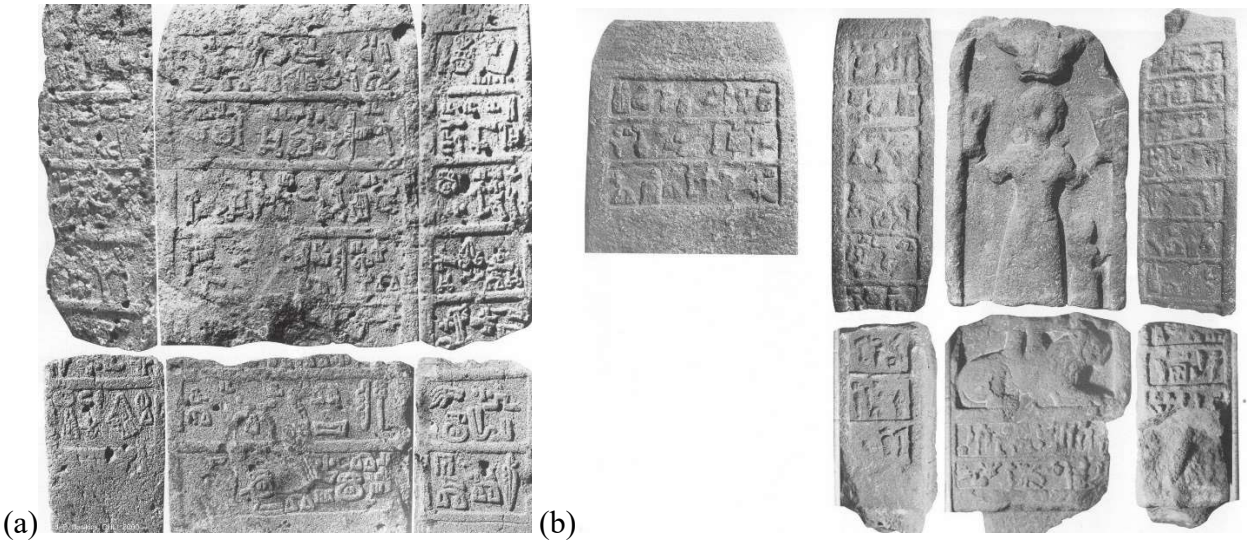

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(a) (b)

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(a)

(b)

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(a)

(b)

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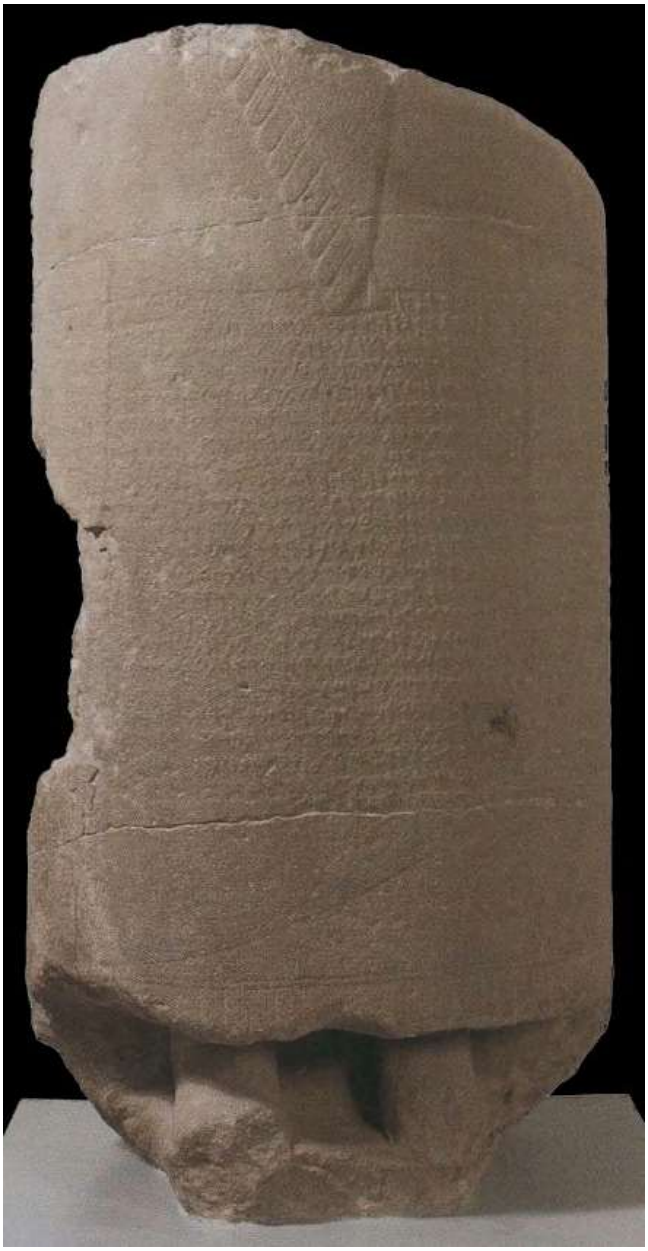

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(a)

(b)

(c)

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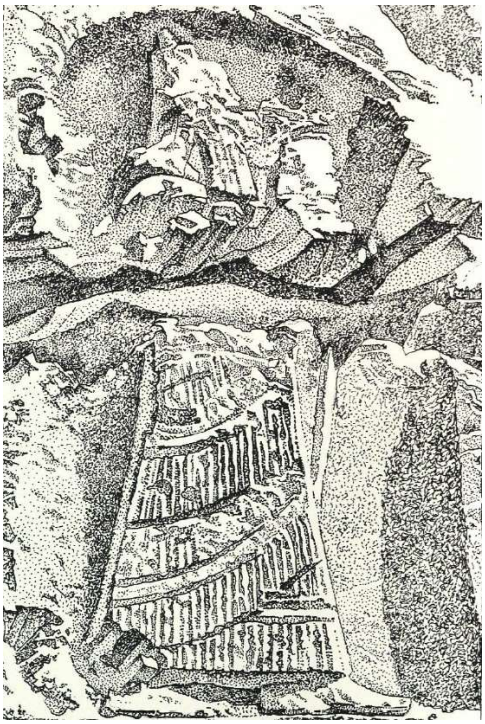

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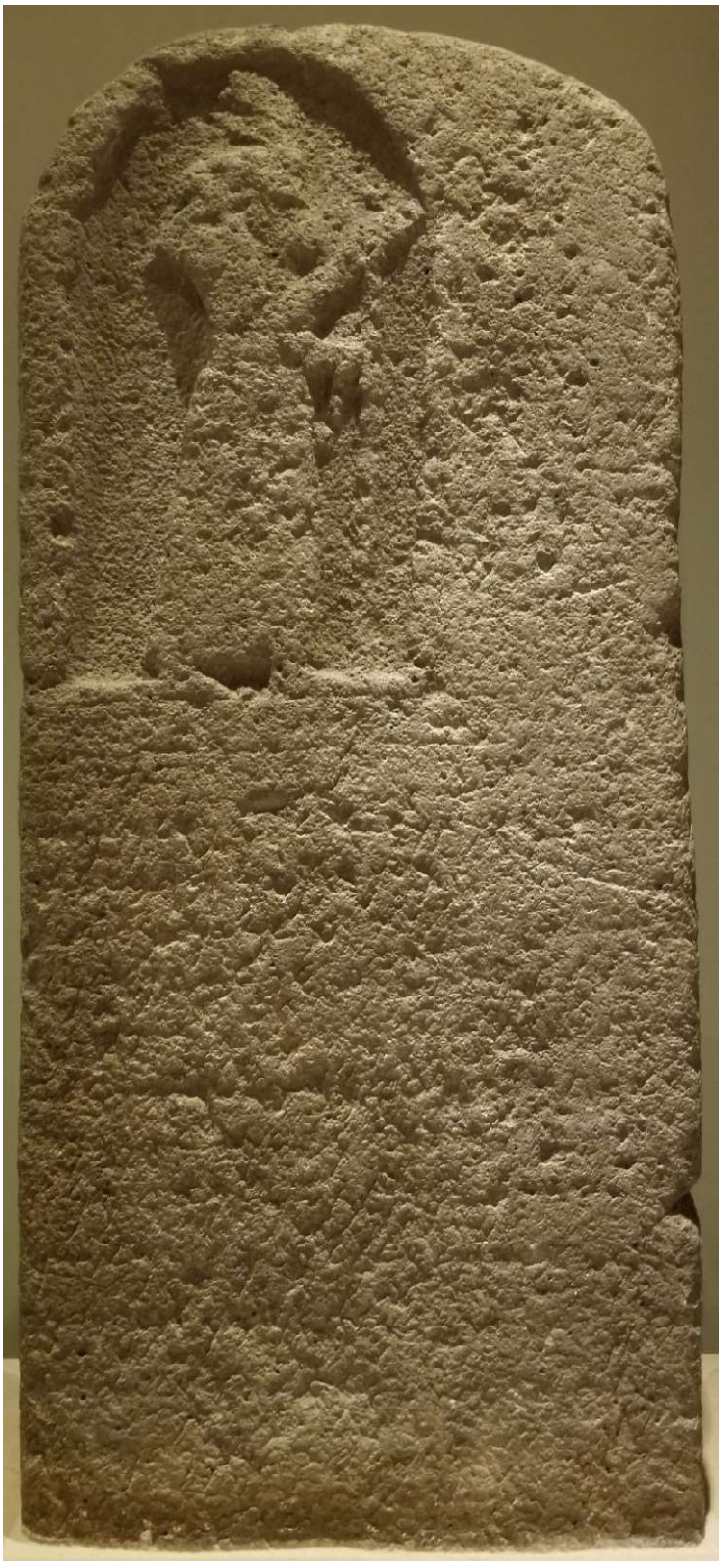

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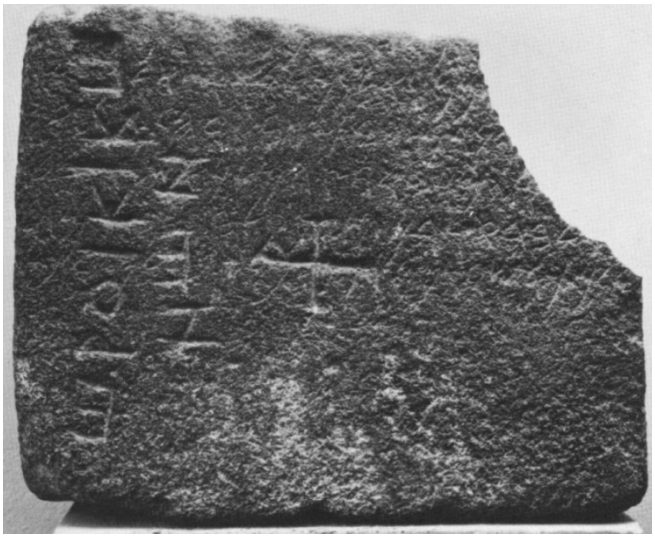

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(a)

(b)

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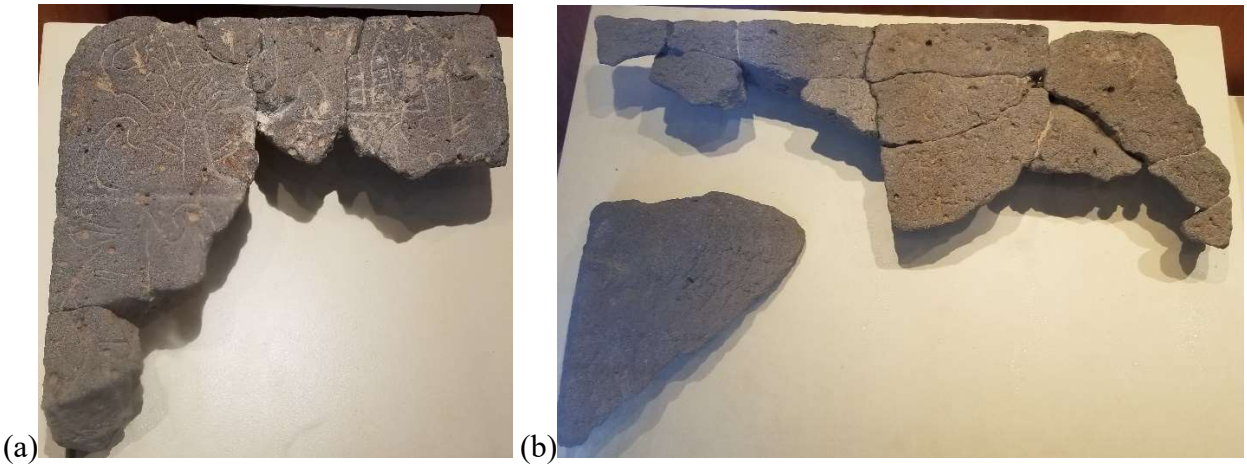

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(a) (b)

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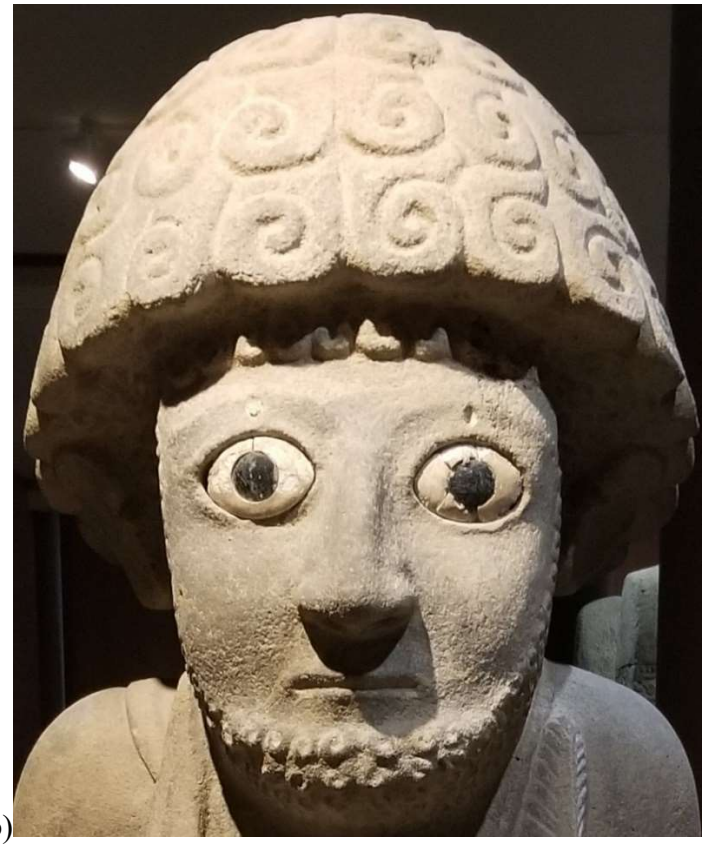
(a)

(b)



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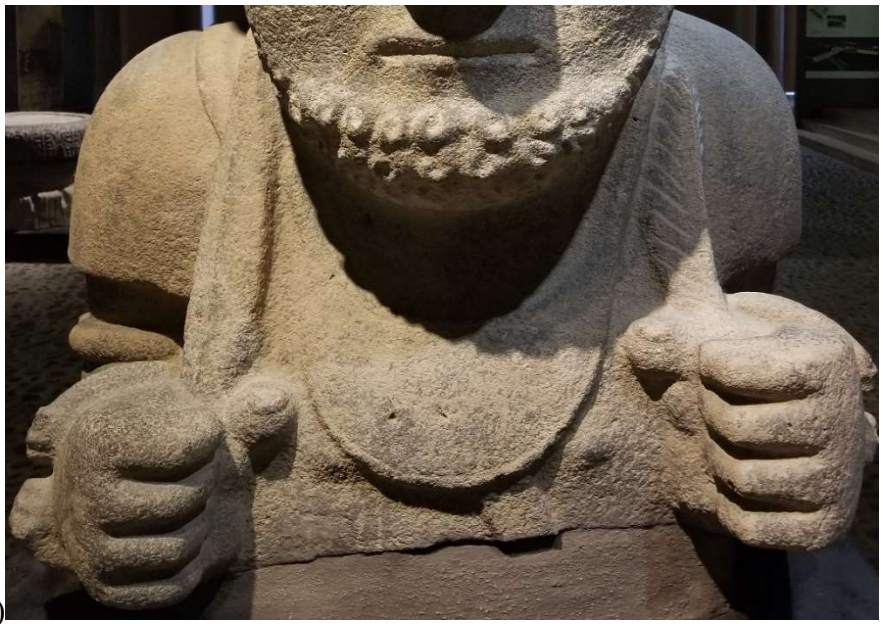
(a)



(b)

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(a) (b)

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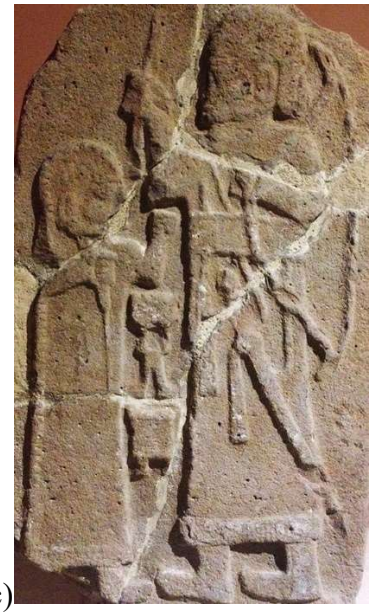
(a) (b) (c) 

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(a) (b)

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(a) (b) (c)

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(a) (b)

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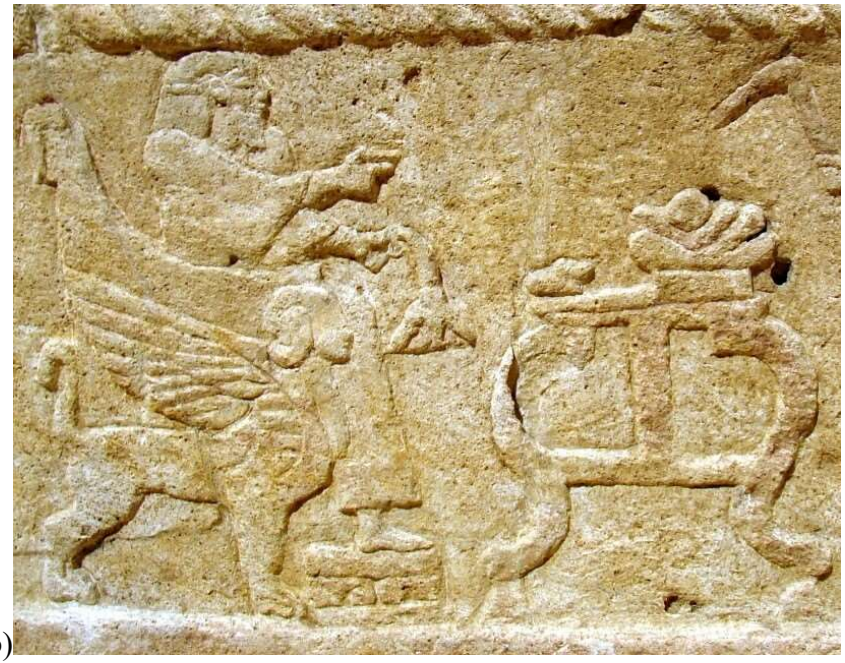
(a) (b) 

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(a) (b) (c)

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(a) (b)

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(a) (b) (c)

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(a) (b)

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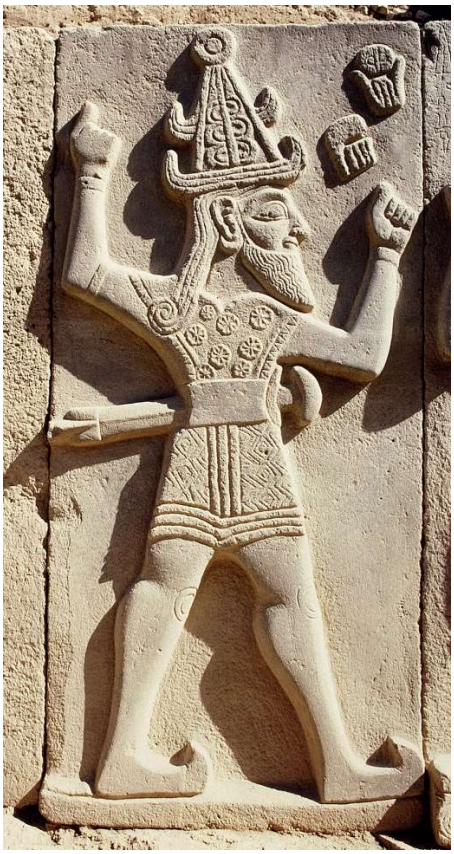

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(a) (b)

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(a) (b)

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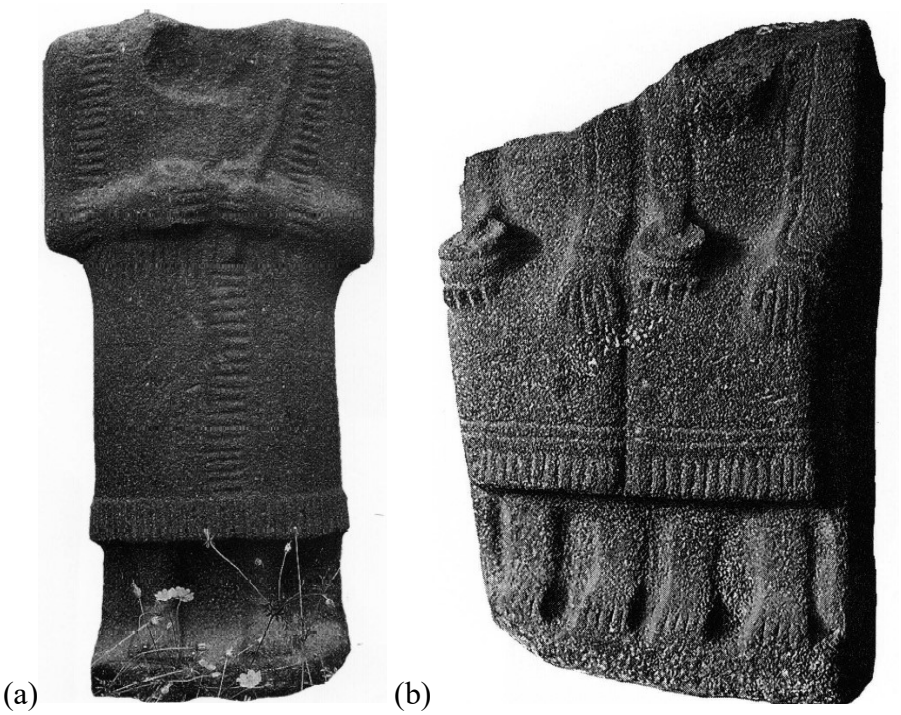

(a) (b)

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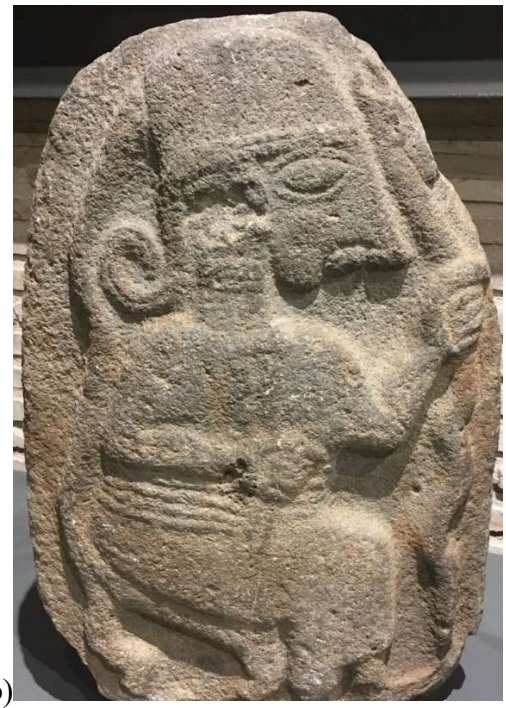
(a) (b) 

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(a) (b)

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(a)

(b)

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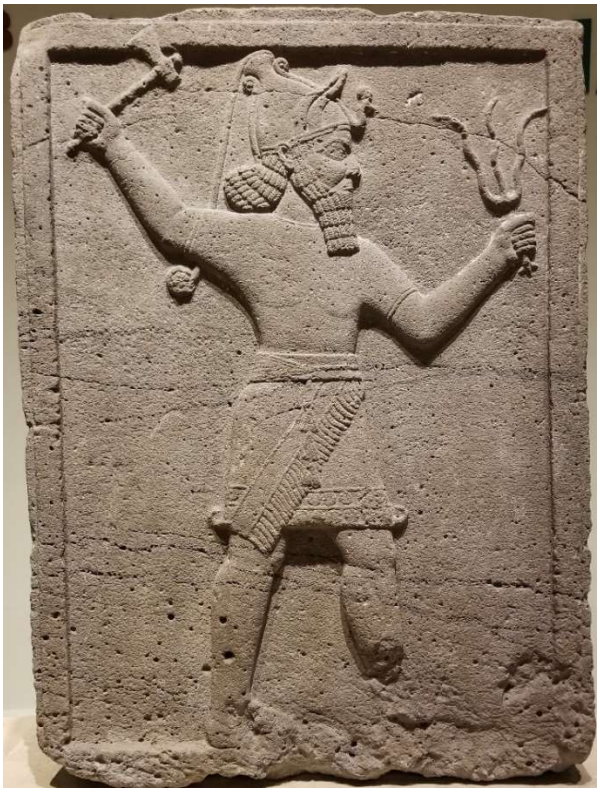

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(a)

(b)

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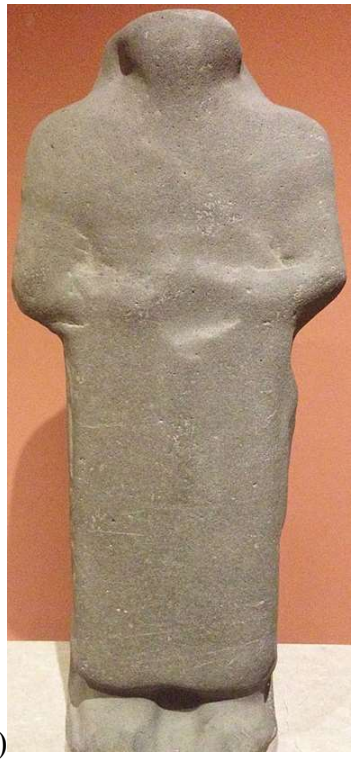
(a)  (b)

Figure 77: Squared columnar statues discovered in Pazarcık (a; MARAŞ 13) and Maraş (b; MARAŞ 14) representing Gurgumean officials. (photos courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

Figure 78: Damaged statue discovered in Hasancıklı near Maraş. (photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

Figure 79: Funerary stele from Örtülü near Islahiye. (photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

Figure 80: Funerary stelae from the region of Maraş depicting a warrior (a; Bonatz 2000: C 5), a seated male (b; Bonatz 2000: C 13), a male and female flanking a mortuary repast (c; Bonatz 2000: C 21), a male and female seated on a bench (d; Bonatz 2000: C 29), multiple figures surrounding a mortuary repast (e; Bonatz 2000: C 44); and a woman and a child (f; Bonatz 2000: C 68). (photos courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

(a) (b)

(c) (d)

Figure 81: Funerary stelae without secure provenance, but likely coming from the region of Maraş depicting a male holding a stylus and tablet (a; Bonatz 2000: C 9), a male holding a set of weights and scales (b; Bonatz 2000: C 10), a male holding a staff and grape and grain (c; Bonatz 2000: C 12), and a warrior and young girl flanking a mortuary repast (d; Bonatz 2000: C 69). (photos courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

Figure 82: Funerary stele from Söğütlü near Maraş depicting a warrior standing before a mortuary repast with wild animals in the background (Bonatz 2000: C 8). (photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

Figure 83: Funerary stele from Hilani II at Zincirli depicting two standing figures holding lotus flowers (Bonatz 2000: C 72). (photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

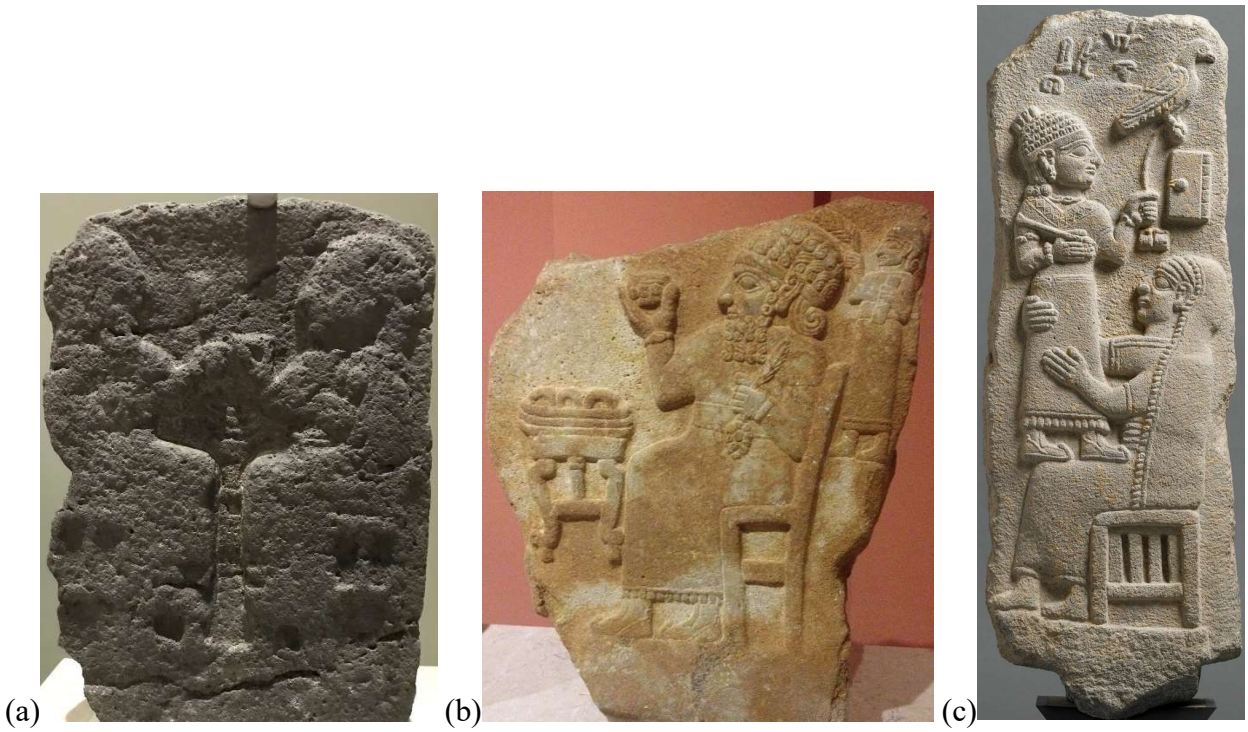


Figure 84: Funerary stele from Maraş depicting a man and women flanking a mortuary repast (a; Bonatz 2000: C 24), a man before a mortuary repast with an attendant behind him (b; Bonatz 2000: C 42), and a child standing upon the lap of a seated female (c; Bonatz 2000: C 65). (a and b: photos courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78; c: Louvre Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, AO 19222; © 2011 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Franck Raux)

Figure 85: Funerary without provenance but likely from the region of Maraş depicting a seated women with a spindle and an attendant with stylus and writing board (a; Bonatz 2000: C 51), a seated male and female and standing young female beside a mortuary repast (b; Bonatz 2000: C 60), and a woman holding a cup and guiding a child riding a horse (c; Bonatz 2000: C 66). (photos courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

(a) (b)

Figure 86: Funerary monument from Maraş depicting a seated female and standing female attendants within an architectural frame (Bonatz 2000: C 59). (photos by author)

Figure 87: Funerary stele from Sakçagözü depicting a seated and a standing figure flanking a mortuary repast (Bonatz 2000: C 37. (photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

Figure 88: Funerary stele from Zincrili Palace G depicting seated figure with lotus flower and cup and an attendant with palm frond flanking a mortuary repast beneath a winged sun-disk (Bonatz 2000: C 46). (photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

Figure 89: Funerary stele from Gözlühöyük near Zincirli depicting seated figures around a mortuary repast with the preserved male figure holding a lotus flower and wearing a uraeus cap (Bonatz 2000: C 28). (photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

Figure 90: Funerary stele from near Islahiye depicting a male and child flanking a mortuary repast beneath a winged sun-disk (Bonatz 2000: C 30). (photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

(a) (b)

(c) (d)

Figure 91: Relief representations of Larama I of Gurgum (a), Tudhaliya IV of Hatti at Yazılıkaya (b), Tudhaliya of Alalakh (c), and Muwatalli II of Hatti at Sirkeli Höyük illustrating the Gurgumean adaptation of Hittite traditions of royal and cultic representation. (a, b, and d: photos courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78; c: photo by author)

Figure 92: Cultic monuments from Domuztepe including a double bull base (a), a stele of Kubaba (b), a stele of the Storm God (c), a stele depicting a deity standing upon a sphinx (d), and a relief of a tree of life flanked by two figures (e). (a and b: photos courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78; c, d, and e: photos by author).

Figure 93: Relief orthostats from the North Gate at Karatepe depicting Bes figures (a and b), a winged guardian figure beneath a winged sun-disk (c), and trees of life (d and e). (photos by author)

Figure 94: Funerary stele from Yumurtalık in southern Cilicia (Bonatz 2000: C 58). (photos courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

Figure 95: Votive plaque from Tatarlı Höyük depicting standing male and a seated female flanking a mortuary repast. (Girginer, Oyman-Girginer, and Akıl 2011: 134 fig. 9)

(a)

(b)

Figure 96: Relief orthostats from the South Gate at Karatepe depicting funerary banquets and a procession of ritual celebrants. (photos by author)

(a) (b) (c)

Figure 97: Relief representations of iconographic connection between the Storm God and Suppiluliuma I of Palastina on the ARSUZ stelae (a), the Storm God and an Ugaritic king on the Ba'al with Thunderbolt stele (b), and Šarruma and Tudhaliya on the rock reliefs at Yazılıkaya (c). (a and b: photos by author; c: photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

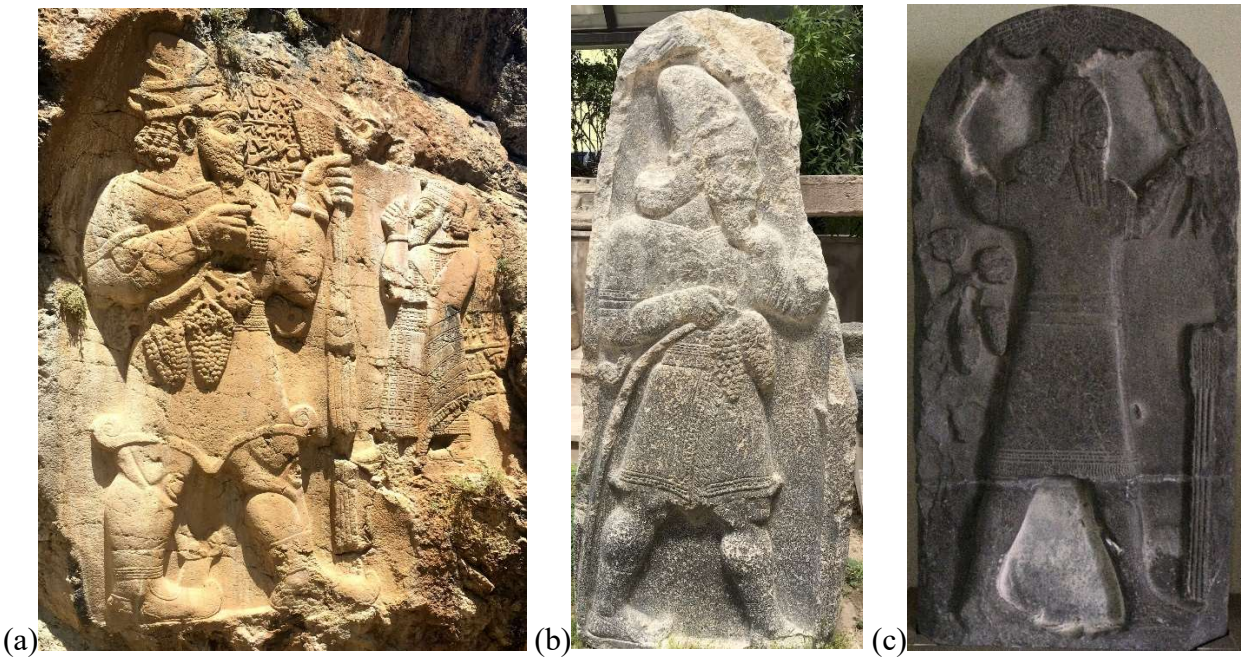


Figure 98: Relief representations of the Storm God of the Vineyard from Tuwana (a: IVRIZ 1; b: BOR 2; c: NIGDE 2). (photos courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

Figure 99: Relief representations from Karkemiš and its vicinity depicting Kubaba seated upon a recumbent lion (a), Kubaba standing in a divine procession (b; reconstructed), Kubaba beneath a winged sun-disk from Birecik (c), and Kubaba upon the stele of Kamani (d). (a-c: photos courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78; d: Marchetti and Peker 2018: 91 fig. 16)

Figure 100: Relief representation from Malatya depicting Kubaba and Karhuha on a rough stone stele. (photo courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

(a) (b)

Figure 101: Relief representations of mortal women in garb typical of Kubaba from Malatya libating before a goddess (a) and seated at a mortuary repast (b). (photos courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78)

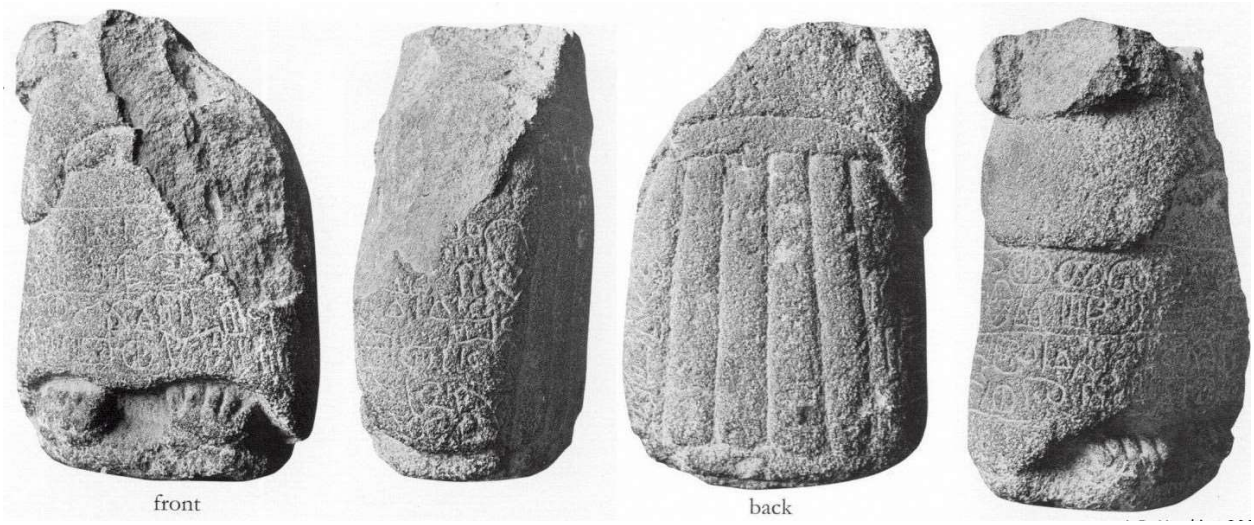


Figure 102: Statue possibly representing the Divine Queen of the Land from Kırçoğlu in the Amuq Plain. (image courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin, www.hittitemonuments.com, v. 1.78, after Hawkins 2000: pl. 203)

Figure 103: Stelae with relief representations of Ba'alat of Byblos and the Byblian king Yehawmilk from the 5th century BCE (a) and the Egyptian deities Hathor and Min from the reign of Thutmose III during the 15th century BCE (b). (a: credit: Zunkir, CC BY-SA 4.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons; https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stele_Yehawmilk_AO_22368_relief.jpg; b: credit: Khruner, CC BY-SA 3.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>, via Wikimedia Commons; https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stele_7241_Florence.jpg)

Tables

Table 1: Synchronized chronology of the kingdoms of the Core Region

Date	Palastina/Patina/Unqi	Gurgum	Yadiya/Sam'al	Hiyawa/Que	Assyria[176]
Late(?) 11th c.	Taita I	Astuwaramanza	??	??	--
10th to early 9th c.	Taita II, Manana, Suppiluliuma I, Halparuntiya I	Muwatali, Larama I, Muwizi	Gabbar, BMH	??	--
Early to mid-9th c.	Lubarna I	Halparuntiya I	Hayya	??	Aššurnasirpal II
Mid-9th c.	Suppiluliuma II, Halparuntiya II	Muwatalli II, Halparuntiya II	Š'L	Kate	Šalmaneser III
Mid- to late 9th c.	Lubarna II, Surri, Sasi	Larama II, Halparuntiya III	Kulamuwa	Kirri	Šalmaneser III, Adad-nerari III
Early to mid-8th c.	??	??	QRL, Panamuwa I	??	Adad-nerari III
Mid- to late 8th c.	Tutammu, Assyrian governor	Tarhulara	Bar-Ṣur (?), Panamuwa II, Bar-Rākib	Awarika/Urikki	Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II
Late 8th to early 7th c.	Assyrian governor	Muwatalli III	Assyrian governor	Azatiwada/ Sanduarri(?),[177] Assyrian governor	Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon

[176] Only kings who interacted with the Core Region are included.

[177] Sanduarri is described as the ruler of Kundi and Sissu, while Azatiwada took no title besides describing himself as supported by Awarika of Hiyawa. Both rulers may have controlled a portion of eastern Cilicia at the same time that an Assyrian governor of Que controlled the west, or even nominally the entirety of the region.

Table 2: Epigraphic data pertaining to the Storm God from the Core Region.

Location	Inscription	Date	Commissioner	Deity	Epithet	Role	Institution(s)
Aleppo	ALEPPO 5	ca. 13th c.	?	(DEUS)TONITRUS	GENUFLECTERE-MI	--	--
Aleppo	ALEPPO 1	late 13th to early 12th	Talmi-Šarruma	(DEUS)*he-pa-SARMA*	None	Unclear	DEUS.DOMUS
Aleppo	ALEPPO 6	ca. 11th c.	Taita I	(DEUS)TONITRUS	TONITRUS.HALPA-*pa-wa/i-ní*	Royal support	DEUS.DOMUS(-)*ha-tà-zi*; hierarchy of sacrifices
Aleppo	ALEPPO 4	late 10th to early 9th c.	?	DEUS.MATTEA	--	--	--
Arsuz	ARSUZ 1 and 2	late 10th to early 9th c.	Suppiluliuma I	(DEUS)TONITRUS	FORTIS-*wattalli*; CAELUM	Royal support; cult focus; litigation	temple or shrine?
Pancarlı	PANCARLI	late 10th to early 9th c.	?	(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunza*	--	Royal support	--
Maraş	MARAŞ 4	mid-9th c.	Halparuntiya II	(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunza*	(*274)*u-pa-ti-tà-si-i*	Cult focus	temple or shrine?
Maraş	MARAŞ 1	late 9th c.	Halparuntiya III	(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunt*	--	Royal support	--
Zincirli	KAI 24	mid to late 9th c.	Kulamuwa	Ba'al	Ṣemed; Hammon	Litigation	predecessors' dynastic gods

Maraş	MARAŞ 11	9th to 8th c.	Halpawasu	(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunza*	--	Cult focus	temple or shrine?
Maraş	MARAŞ 3	ca. 8th c.	?	[(DEUS)]TONITRUS-*hunza*	--	Cult focus	temple or shrine?
Kürtül	KÜRTÜL	ca. 8th c.	Las	(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunza*	--	Cult focus	temple or shrine?
Gerçin	KAI 214	mid to late 8th c.	Panamuwa I	Hadad	--	Royal support; mortuary repast	funerary cult
Gerçin	KAI 215	late 8th c.	Bar-Rākib	Hadad	--	Royal support	funerary cult
Zincirli	KTMW Stele	late 8th c.	KTMW	Hadad	Qarpatalli; of the Vineyards (*krmn*)	Cult focus; mortuary repast	funerary cult
Afrin	AFRIN	9th to 8th c.	?	(DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti*	--	Unclear	--
Tell Tayinat	TELL TAYINAT fragments	9th to 8th c.	?	(DEUS)TO[NITRUS]	--	Unclear	--
Tell Tayinat	TELL TAYINAT 2	9th to 8th c.	?	(DEUS)TONITRUS	--	Litigation	--
Tell Afis	KAI 202	early 8th c.	Zakkur	Ba'al	Šamem	Royal support or litigation?	--
Jisr el Hadid	JISR EL HADID 4	ca. 8th c.	Runtapi	(DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti*	--	Cult focus	funerary cult
Adana(?)	ADANA 1	early 8th c.	Atika	(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunza*	("DEUS")*masahunali*	Cult focus; litigation	--

Hasan-Beyli	HASAN-BEYLİ	late 8th c.	?	Ba'al	Šamem	Unclear	--
Çineköy	CİNEKÖY	late 8th c.	Awarika	Ba'al/(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunt*	--	Royal support	--
İncirli	İNCİRLİ	late 8th c.	Awarika	Ba'al	Šamem	Royal support	--
Karatepe	KARATEPE 1	late 8th c.	Azatiwada	Ba'al/(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunza*	KRNTRYŠ; Šamem/CAELUM	Royal support; litigation	ancestor cult

Table 3: Iconographic data pertaining to the Storm God from the Core Region.

Location	Monument	Date	Deity	Epigraph	Posture	Attire	Cap	Sword	Hands/Objects
Ugarit	Ba'al with Thunderbolt	14th to 13th c.	Ba'al	--	Striding; smiting	Skirt, short, striped	Plunger-shaped; two projecting horns	Crescent pommel; curled end	Mace; spear with end made of vegetation
Aleppo	ALEPPO 5	13th c.	Halabean Storm God	(DEUS)TONITRUS GENUFLECTERE-*MI*	Striding; smiting	Tunic, belted; short, pointed skirt; triple hem	Conical; two sets of ribbed horns, one at rim; double circle at top; internal vertical bar dividing three double circles	Crescent pommel; straight	Empty fists; oversized thumb
Aleppo	ALEPPO 4	late 10th c.	Storm God(?) of the Mace	DEUS.MATTEA	Mounting chariot	Tunic, belted; short, pointed skirt; double hem	Conical; single set of horns at rim; double circle at top; ribbed outer surfaces;	None	Mace/Club and reins; oversized thumbs

							vertical bar inside		
'ayn Dara	Abu Assaf, G2	?	Storm God(?)	--	Striding	Short tunic; pointed skirt; triple hem	*Broken/Missing*	Pommel missing; straight	*Missing*
Arsuz	ARSUZ 1 and 2	late 10th to earl y 9th c.	Storm God; Mighty Storm God; Celestial Storm God	(DEUS)TONITRUS; (DEUS)TONITRUS FORTIS-*wattalli*; CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS	Guiding; striding atop vegetal motif (1) and bull (2)	Tunic, belted; short, fringed skirt	Bulbous, conical; two sets of horns	None	Lightning trident; wrist of royal figure
Zincirli	Orthmann 1971: Zincirli B/14	ca. 10th c.	Storm God	--	Striding; smiting	Tunic, belted; short, fringed skirt	Bulbous, conical; single set of horns at rim	Crescent pommel; straight	Axe; lightning trident, short
Zincirli	KAI 24	mid to late 9th c.	Hadad	--	Divine Symbol: horned cap	--	--	--	--
Islahiye	Orthmann 1971: Islahiye 1	ca. 9th c.	Storm God	--	Striding; smiting	Tunic, belted; short skirt	Bulbous, conical; two sets of horns, one at rim	Crescent pommel; straight(?)	Axe; grain stalk or feather(?)
Maraş	MARAŞ 5	9th to 8th c.	Storm God(?)	--	Striding; smiting	Tunic, belted; short skirt	*Broken/Missing*	None	*Missing*

Maraş	MARAŞ 11	9th to 8th c.	Storm God	--	Striding; smiting	Tunic, belted; short skirt	Bulbous, conical; at least one set of horns	Circular pommel; straight	Double axe; lightning trident, short
Maraş	MARAŞ 3	ca. 8th c.	Storm God	[(DEUS)]TONITRUS-*hunza*	Standing; arms bent	Long robe	*Broken/Missing*	None	*Missing*
Karaçay	Bunnens 2006: No. 2	ca. 8th c.	Storm God	--	Striding; smiting	Tunic, belted; short skirt	Bulbous, conical; two sets of horns, one at rim	Circular pommel; straight	Double axe; *other hand missing*
Kürtül	KÜRTÜL	ca. 8th c.	Storm God	(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunza*	Striding; smiting	Tunic, belted; short skirt(?)	Bulbous, conical; two sets of horns, one at rim	Crescent pommel; straight	Double axe; lightning trident, short
Gerçin	KAI 214	mid to late 8th c.	Hadad	Hadad	Standing; arms bent	Long robe	Short cap; two sets of horns	None	*Missing*
Zincirli	KAI 216	late 8th c.	Hadad	--	Divine Symbol: horned cap	--	--	--	--
Zincirli	KAI 217	late 8th c.	Hadad	--	Divine Symbol: horned cap	--	--	--	--
Gözlühöyük	Bunnens 2006: No. 11	ca. 8th c.	Storm God	--	Striding; smiting	Tunic, belted; short skirt	Bublous, conical; two projecting horns; tassel; uraeus	None	Axe; lightning trident, short
Afrin	AFRIN	9th to 8th c.	Storm God(?)	(DEUS)TONITRUS-*ti*	*Broken; unclear*	Tunic(?); short skirt	*Broken/Missing*	*Broken*	*Missing*

Domuztepe	DOMUZTEPE 2	ca. 9th c.	Storm God	EGO	Striding; smiting	Tunic, belted; short skirt	*Eroded*	Circular pommel(?); straight	Double axe; EGO sign
Adana(?)	ADANA 1	early 8th c.	Storm God of the Vineyard	("DEUS")*masahunali* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunza*	Standing; arms bent	Long robe	Conical cap; two sets of horns	None	Grape vine; grain stalk
Çineköy	CİNEKÖY	late 8th c.	Storm God	Ba'al/(DEUS)TONITRUS-*hunt*	Standing; arms bent	Long robe	Short cap; two sets of horns	None	Grain stalk(?); *other hand missing*
Karatepe	KARATEPE 1C	late 8th c.	Storm God	Ba'al	Standing; arms bent	Long robe	Short cap; hornless	None	*Missing*

Table 4: Epigraphic data pertaining to the Divine Ladies from the Core Region.

Location	Inscription	Date	Commissioner	Deity	Epithet	Role	Institution(s)
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A4b	early 10th c.	Ura-Tarhunza	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS	--	Royal support	--
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A14b+a	early 10th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa*	--	Litigation	--
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A11a	late 10th c.	Katuwa	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa*	--	Royal support; litigation	Divine triad
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A11b+c	late 10th c.	Katuwa	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa(pa)*	--	Royal support; litigation; cult focus	Divine triad; temple or shrine?
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A12	late 10th c.	Katuwa	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa*	--	Royal support	Divine triad

Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A2+3	late 10th c.	Katuwa	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa*	--	Litigation	--
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A13d	late 10th c.	Katuwa	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa*	--	Cult focus	--
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A23	late 10th c.	Katuwa	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa*	*Karkamis*(URBS) MAGNUS.DOMINA-*sara*	Royal support; cult focus	Temple or shrine?
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A26a1+2	late 10th c.	Katuwa	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Cult focus	Temple
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A20a1+2	late 10th c.	Katuwa	(DEUS)*ku*-AVIS[…	--	Cult focus(?)	Temple or shrine?
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A25a	late 10th c.	Katuwa(?)	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa*	*Karkamis*(URBS) (MAGNUS.DOMINA)*hassus ara*	Unclear	--
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A5a	ca. 8th c.	Zahanani	TERRA.DEUS.DOMINA	--	Cult focus; litigation	Funerary cult
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A6	early 8th c.	Yariri	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Royal support; cult focus	--
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A15b	early 8th c.	Yariri	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Royal support; cult focus	Divine triad(+)
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ stone bowl	early 8th c.	Yariri	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Cult focus	--
Karkemiš	Stele of Kubaba	early 8th c.	Kamani	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS	*Karkamis* (URBS) MAGNUS.DOMINA	Royal support; cult focus; litigation	Temple
Cekke	CEKKE	early 8th c.	Kamani	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS(-*papa)*	--	Litigation	Divine triad(+)
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A4a	early 8th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Litigation	Divine triad(+)
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A25a	early 8th c.	Kamani(?)	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Litigation	Divine triad

Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A21+A20b	9th to 8th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS	--	Royal support	--
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A13a-c	9th to 8th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS	--	Royal support; litigation	--
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A15e	9th to 8th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Unclear	--
Körkün	KÖRKÜN	late 9th c.	Kazupi	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Royal support	--
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A18e	9th to 8th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa*	--	Litigation	--
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A18j	9th to 8th c.	Atatala(?)	...(DEUS)*k*]*u*+AVIS-*pa*	--	Cult focus	--
Karkemiš	KARKAMIŠ A18j	9th to 8th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*[…	--	Unclear	--
Karkemiš	ANKARA	9th to 8th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*[+AVIS]-*papa*	--	Litigation	--
Tell Ahmar	TELL AHMAR 1	late 10th c.	?	(DUES)*k*[*u*+AV]IS-*pa*[*pa*]	--	Royal support	--
Tell Ahmar	TELL AHMAR 2	late 10th c.	Hamiyata	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Royal support	--
Tell Ahmar	TELL AHMAR 6	late 10th c.	Hamiyata	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS	--	Royal support	--
Tell Ahmar	ALEPPO 2	late 10th c.	Arpas	(DEUS)*ku*+A[VIS…]	--	Litigation	--
Malatya	MALATYA 13	late 10th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS	--	Unclear	--
Boybeypınarı	BOYBEYPINAR I 1	late 9th c.	Panamuwati	[(DEUS)]AVIS	*Ala*	Litigation	--
Boybeypınarı	BOYBEYPINAR I 2	late 9th c.	Panamuwati	DEUS.AVIS	*Ala*	Cult focus; litigation	Temple or shrine?
Ancoz	ANCOZ 1	late 9th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	(FEMINA)*Ala*	Cult focus	Temple or shrine?

Ancoz	ANCOZ 5	late 9th c.	Hattusili(?)	(DEUS)AVIS	(FEMINA)*Ala*	Litigation	--
Ancoz	ANCOZ 7	late 9th c.	Suppiluliuma	(DEUS)AVIS	*Ala*	Litigation	--
Kâhta	KÂHTA 1	late 9th c.	?	([D]EUS.AVIS)*kupapa*	*Ala*	Unclear	--
Kayseri	KAYSERİ	late 8th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Litigation	--
Karaburun	KARABURUN	late 8th c.	Sipis(?)	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS	--	Litigation	--
Kululu	KULULU 1	late 8th c.	Ruwas	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Litigation	--
Çiftlik	ÇİFTLİK	mid-8th c.	?	(DEUS)*ku*[+AVIS-*papa*]	--	Cult focus(?)	Temple or shrine?
Sultanhanı	SULTANHAN	mid-8th c.	Sarwatiwara	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	*Kar(ka)mis*	Litigation	--
Kululu	KULULU 5	ca. 8th c.	?	(DEUS)[*ku*]+AVIS-*papa*	--	Unclear	--
Bulgarmaden	BULGARMADEN	late 8th c.	Tarhunaza	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*papa*	--	Royal support; litigation	--
Aleppo	ALEPPO 7	ca. 11th c.	Taita I	(DEUS)*ku*[…	--	Unclear	--
Meharde	MEHARDE	10th to early 9th c.	Taita II	DEUS.REGIO-*nis* (MAGNUS.DOMINA) *hassusara*	--	Cult focus; litigation	Funerary cult
Meharde	SHEIZAR	10th to early 9th c.	Kupapiya	DEUS.REGIO-*nis* (DOMINA)*hassusara*	--	Litigation	Funerary cult
Tuleil	TULEIL 2	9th to 8th c.	Runti(ya)wari	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS	--	Litigation	--
Kırçoğlu	KIRÇOĞLU	late 8th c.	?	(DEUS)REGIO-*nis* MAGNUS.FEMINA-*sara*	--	Cult focus	--

Maraş	MARAŞ 10	?	?	(DEUS)*ku*+A[VIS]-*papa*	--	Unclear	--
Ördekburnu	Ördekburnu stele	late 9th c.	Piya(?)	Kubaba	of Aram	Cult focus	Funerary cult
Zincirli	KTMW stele	late 8th c.	KTMW	Kubaba	--	Cult focus	Funerary cult
Al-Safirah	Tocci 1962	ca. 8th c.	?	Kubaba	--	Unclear	--
Hama	HAMA 4	mid-9th c.	Urhilina	(DEUS)*pahalati*	--	Cult focus	Temple
Hama	HAMA 8	mid-9th c.	Urhilina	(MANUS+MANUS)*pa hala…*	--	Cult focus	--
Hama	RESTAN	mid-9th c.	Urhilina	(DEUS)*pahalati*	--	Cult focus	Temple or shrine?
Hama	QAL'AT El MUDIQ	mid-9th c.	Urhilina	(DEUS)*pahalati*	--	Cult focus	Temple or shrine?
Hama	Hama fragment 1	ca. 9th c.	?	(DEUS)*pahalati*	--	Unclear	--

Table 5: Iconographic data pertaining to the Divine Ladies from the Core Region.

Location	Monument	Date	Deity	Epigraph	Posture	Attire	Cap	Hands/Objects
Karkemiš	Orthmann 1971: F/7b	late 10th c.	Kubaba	--	Seated	Long robe; shawl	Polos	Mirror; pomegranate
Karkemiš	Orthmann 1971: C/3	late 10th c.	Kubaba	--	Standing; arms bent	Long robe; shawl	Polos; horned	Pomegranate; *other hand missing*
Biricek	Orthmann 1971: Biricek 1	ca. 10th c.	Kubaba	--	Standing; arms bent	Long robe	Polos; horned	Mirror; pomegranate
Karkemiš	Stele of Kubaba by Kamani	early 8th c.	Kubaba	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS Karkamis (URBS) MAGNUS.DOMINA	Standing; arms bent	Long robe	Polos	Mirror

Karkemiš	Orthmann 1971: K/6	ca. 8th c.	Kubaba	--	Seated	Long robe; shawl	*Broken/missing*	Mirror
Malatya	MALATYA 13	late 10th c.	Kubaba	(DEUS)*ku*+AVIS	Seated	Long robe; shawl	Polos	Mirror
Ancoz	Orthmann 1971: Ancuzköy 1	late 9th c.	Kubaba	--	Seated	Long robe; shawl	*Broken/missing*	Pomegranate; *other hand missing*
Domuztepe	Kubaba stele	ca. 9th c.	Kubaba	--	Standing; arms bent	Long robe; shawl	*Broken/missing*	Mirror
Zincirli	Orthmann 1971: B/13b	ca. 10th c.	Kubaba	--	Seated; standing with arms bent	Long robe; shawl	Polos; horned	Mirror
Meharde	MEHARDE	10th to early 9th c.	Divine Queen of the Land	--	Standing; arms bent	Long robe	Hathor' headdress	Flowers(?)
Tell Tayinat	Lady of Tayinat	ca. 9th c.	Divine Queen of the Land(?)	--	Standing(?)	Long robe; shawl	None	*Missing*
Kırçoğlu	KIRÇOĞLU	late 8th c.	Divine Queen of the Land	--	Standing; arms bent(?)	Long robe	*Broken/missing*	*Missing*

Table 6: Funerary monuments from the Core Region.

Location	Monument	Date	Inscription	Status	Form	Figure	Posture	Hands/Objects	Table
Meharde	Orthmann 1971: Mahrada 1	10th to early 9th c.	MEHARDE	Royal	Stele	Female (divine)	Standing	Flowers(?)	No
Meharde	Hawkins 2000: SHEIZAR	10th to early 9th c.	SHEIZAR	Royal	Stele	--	--	--	--

Tell Tayinat	Gelb 1939: No. 52	10th to early 9th c.	--	Royal	Statue	Male	*Unclear*	*Broken/missing*	*Broken/missing*
Tell Tayinat	Denel and Harrison 2018	mid-9th c.	TELL TAYINAT 4	Royal	Statue	Male	Standing(?)	Grain(?); blade	*Broken/missing*
Tell Tayinat	Harrison et al. 2018	mid-9th c.	--	Royal	Statue	Female	Standing(?)	*Broken/missing*	*Broken/missing*
Jisr el Hadid	Dinçol et al. 2014	ca. 8th c.	JISR EL HADID 4	Non-royal(?)	Statue?	*Unclear*	*Unclear*	*Broken/missing*	*Broken/missing*
Kırçoğlu	Orthmann 1971: Kirçoğlu 1	ca. 8th c.	KIRÇOĞLU	Non-royal(?)	Statue	Male(?)	Standing	*Broken/missing*	No
Taftanaz	Bonatz 2000: A 9	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Statue/stele; columnar; squared	Male	Standing	Drinking cup; short curved rod	No
Taftanaz	Bonatz 2000: A 10	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Statue/stele; columnar; squared	Male	Standing	Drinking cup; short curved rod	No
Taftanaz	Bonatz 2000: B 1	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Statue/stele; squared	Male	Seated	Drinking cup	No
Taftanaz	Bonatz 2000: B 10	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Statue/stele; squared	Male; female	Seated	Drinking cups	No
Tell Rif'at	Bonatz 2000: C 14	ca. 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male(?)	Seated	Drinking cup(?)	Yes
Tell Rif'at	Bonatz 2000: C 40	late 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Unclear	Seated; standing	Unclear	Yes
Tell Rif'at	Bonatz 2000: C 48	late 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male(?); attendant	Seated; standing	Drinking cup; *other hand unclear*; palm frond; pouring vessel	Yes
Tell Rif'at	Bonatz 2000: C 15	late 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male(?)	Seated	Drinking cup	Yes

Neirab	Bonatz 2000: C 35	late 8th to 7th c.	KAI 226	Non-royal	Stele	Male; child	Seated; standing	Drinking cup; grain(?)	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 1	ca. 10th c.	MARAŞ 8	Royal	Stele	Male	Standing	Short staff	No
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 33	10th to early 9th c.	MARAŞ 2	Non-royal	Stele	Female; female	Seated	Drinking cup; pomegranate; mirror; pomegranate	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: A 15	10th to early 9th c.	--	?	Statue	Male	?	*Broken/missing*	No
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 27	mid-10th to early 9th c.	MARAŞ 12	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female	Seated	Short staff; drinking cup(?); drinking cup; mirror(?)	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 54	mid-10th to early 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female	Standing; seated	Bow; bird; mirror	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 55	mid-10th to early 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; unclear	Standing	Bow; arrows	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 64	mid-10th to early 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Female	Seated	Mirror; basket or perch for bird	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: A 2	mid-9th c.	MARAŞ 4	Royal					
Pazarçık	Bonatz 2000: A 3	ca. 9th c.	MARAŞ 13	Royal(?)	Statue	Male	Standing	Staff; *broken/missing*	No
Maraş	Hawkins 2000: MARAŞ 14	ca. 9th c.	MARAŞ 14	Non-royal	Statue	Male	Standing	Staff; *broken/missing*	No
Hasancıklı	Bonatz 2000: A 11	ca. 9th c.	--	?	Statue	Male	Standing	Short staff or rod	No

Pazarçık	Bonatz 2000: C 5	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male	Standing	Bow; arrows	No
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 7	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male	Standing	Bow; arrows; animal(?)	No
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 13	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male	Seated	Staff; drinking cup	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 21	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female	Seated	Staff; grain and grapes; drinking cup; spindle(?)	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 23	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female	Seated	Staff; *unclear*; drinking cup; *unclear*	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 29	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female	Seated	Grapes; mirror	No
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 34	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Female	Seated	Drinking cup	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 44	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male(?); male	Seated; standing; standing	Instrument; palm frond; drinking cup; reins of horse; spear	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 53	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Female; male(?)	Seated; standing	Mirror; drinking cup; bow/rod(?)	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 56	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male	Standing	Grain and grapes; *unclear*	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 57	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Unclear	Seated; standing	*Broken/missing*	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 62	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Female; male; child	Seated; standing; standing	Spindle/poppy(?); drinking cup; *unclear*	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 68	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Female; female child	Standing; standing	Spindle	No
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 9	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male	Standing	Stylus; tablet	No

Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 10	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male	Standing	Scales; weights	No
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 12	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male	Seated	Staff; grain and grapes	Yes
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 22	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female	Seated	Staff; grain and grapes; drinking cup; spindle(?)	Yes
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 50	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female	Seated; standing	Grain; drinking cup; *broken/missing*	Yes
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 69	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; child	Standing; standing	Bow; arrows; drinking cup; *unclear*	Yes
Söğütlü	Bonatz 2000: C 8	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male	Standing	Bow; arrows	Yes
Çapalı	Bonatz 2000: C 43	mid-9th to mid-8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male(?); male(?)	Seated; standing	Staff; cup; palm frond	Yes
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 49	mid-9th to mid-8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male(?); *unclear*	*Unclear*	Palm frond(?); drinking cup	*Broken/missing*
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 24	late 9th to 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female	Seated; seated	Drinking cup; grain; drinking cup; *unclear*	*Yes*
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 42	late 9th to 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; male	Seated; standing	Grain and grapes; drinking cup; palm frond(?); pouring vessel(?)	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 61	late 9th to 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female; male child	Seated; seated; standing	Staff; drinking cup; *unclear*; *unclear*	*Unclear*

Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 63	late 9th to 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Female; child	Seated; standing	*Unclear*; bird	Yes
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 65	late 9th to 8th c.	MARAŞ 9	Non-royal	Stele	Female; male child	Seated; standing	Leash of a bird; stylus; diptych	No
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 19	late 9th to 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Female	Seated	Mirror	Yes
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 20	late 9th to 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Female	Seated	*Unclear*	*Unclear*
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 25	late 9th to 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female	Seated; seated	Drinking cup; grain; drinking cup; spindle(?)	Yes
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 51	late 9th to 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Female; male	Seated; standing	Spindle; thread; stylus; tablet	Yes
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 60	late 9th to 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female; young female	Seated; seated; standing	Drinking cup; vegetation(?); goblet; spindle; mirror	Yes
Maraş(?)	Bonatz 2000: C 66	late 9th to 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Female; male child	Standing; seated	Drinking cup; reins of horse	No
Maraş	Bonatz 2000: C 59	ca. 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Monument	Females	Seated; standing	Spindle; thread; flag(?); palm frond	No
Zincirli	Bonatz 2000: A 6	late 10th to early 9th c.	--	Royal	Statue	Male	Standing	Staff; *broken/missing*	No
Karaburçlu	Bonatz 2000: C 32	late 10th to early 9th c.	KARABURÇLU	Non-royal	Stele	Male; male	Seated	Short staff; drinking cup; short staff; drinking cup	Yes

Gaziantep	Bonatz 2000: C 71	late 10th to early 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; child	Standing	Unclear	*Unclear*
Zincirli	Orthmann 1971: Zincirli E/2	mid to late 9th c.	KAI 24	Royal	Orthostat	Male	Standing	Lotus	No
Örtülü	Bonatz 2000: C 26	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female	Seated	Staff/rod; cup; mirror; spindle(?)	Yes
Ördekburnu	Bonatz 2000: C 52	late 9th to mid 8th c.	Lemaire and Sass 2013	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female	Standing; seated	Staff; lotus; flowers; *unclear*	Yes
Zincirli	Bonatz 2000: C 72	late 9th to mid-8th c.	--	Royal(?)	Stele	Male; younger male	Standing; standing	Lotus; lotus; basket/pot(?)	No
Islahiye	Orthmann 1971: Islahiye 2	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	*Unclear*	Seated	Snake or vine(?)	No
Sakçagözü	Bonatz 2000: C 37	early 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	*Unclear; unclear*	Seated; standing	*Unclear*	Yes
Gerçin	Orthmann 1971: Gerçin 1	mid to late 8th c.	KAI 214	Royal	Statue	Male	Standing	*Unclear*	No
Gerçin	Bonatz 2000: A 8	late 8th c.	KAI 215	Royal	Statue	Male	Standing	*Unclear*	No
Zincirli	KTMW Stele	late 8th c.	Pardee 2009	Non-royal	Stele	Male	Seated	Drinking cup; conifer	Yes
Zincirli	Orthmann 1971: Zincirli K/1	late 8th c.	KAI 216	Royal	Orthostat	Male; male(?)	Standing; standing(?)	Lotus; palm frond; *unclear*	No
Zincirli	Orthmann 1971: Zincirli K/11	late 8th c.	KAI 217	Royal	Orthostat	Male	*Unclear*	Lotus; drinking cup	No

Zincirli	Orthmann 1971: Zincirli F/1a	late 8th c.	KAI 218	Royal	Orthostat	Male; male	Seated; standing	Lotus; stylus(?); tablet	No
Zincirli	Bonatz 2000: C 46	late 8th c.	--	Royal(?)	Stele	Male; male	Seated; standing	Drinking cup; lotus; palm frond; knife	Yes
Zincirli	Bonatz 2000: C 47	late 8th c.	--	Non-Royal(?)	Stele	Male; male	Seated; standing	*Unclear*	Yes
Gözlühöyük	Bonatz 2000: C 28	ca. 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; female; child	Seated; seated; standing	Lotus; drinking cup; poppies; flower	Yes
Gölüköhüyük Köyu-Islahiye	Bonatz 2000: C 30	ca. 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; male child	Seated; seated	Drinking cup; vegetation(?); drinking cup; vegetation(?)	Yes
Yumurtalık	Bonatz 2000: C 58	ca. 9th c.	--	Non-royal	Stele	Male; male(?)	Standing; seated	Staff; instrument(?)	No
Tatarlı Höyük	Girginer, Oyman-Girginer, and Akıl 2011: 134 fig. 9	9th to 8th c.	--	Non-royal	Plaque	Male(?); *unclear*	Standing; seated	*Unclear*	Yes
Çineköy	Tekoğlu et al. 2001	late 8th c.	ÇİNEKÖY	Royal	Statue	Male	Standing	Grape(?); grain(?)	No
Karatepe	Çambel and Özyar 2003: VII.C	late 8th c.	KARATEPE 1C; KAI 26	Royal	Statue	Male	Standing	*Broken/missing*	No
Karatepe	Orthmann 1971: Karatepe B/2	late 8th c.	KARATEPE 1; KAI 26	Royal(?)	Orthostat	Males	Seated; standing	Drinking cup; palm fronds; pouring vessels	Yes

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